DIODORUS OF SICILY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

C. BRADFORD WELLES

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

VIII

BOOKS XVI. 66–95 AND XVII

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MCMLXIII

TO

THE GENERATIONS OF SCHOLARS

ANCIENT AND MODERN

WHO HAVE TRIED TO UNDERSTAND

ALEXANDER

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Diodorus's Chronology

The parts of Diodorus's *Library of History* which are covered in this volume offer few serious chronological problems. As elsewhere, Diodorus identifies each year by the Attic archon and the Roman consuls, adding the number of the Olympiad every four years. As elsewhere, he tries to complete the narrative of each event at one time, and this often leads him to continue a story beyond the year to which it belongs, or to begin its account later than would be strictly correct. Specific dates as an aid to the reader are here added in footnotes, when they are known.

Consuls' and archons' names differ not infrequently from those which are attested otherwise, either in part or in whole, and these latter are supplied in footnotes, the archons from J. Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* (Vol. 2 (1903), 635) and the consuls from T. R. S. Broughton's *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (Vol. 1, 1951). The manuscript form of the names is kept in text and translation. For the consuls, it is enough to refer to the study of the problem by G. Perl, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu Diodors römischer Jahrzählung* (1957). The years covered by this volume, 345 to 323 B.C., offer fewer problems than elsewhere. Since he lacks the so-called dictator years, one of which (333 B.C.) falls within this period, the consuls are dated by Diodorus two or three years later than in the Varronian chronology.

For some reason, the consuls of 345 B.C. are placed three years earlier than in other lists.

The problems of the calendar year employed by Diodorus to date events in the Alexander story has recently been investigated by M. J. Fontana, *Kokalos*, 2. 1 (1956), 37-49. His conclusion that Diodorus here follows the Macedonian year which began in the autumn, but identified it by the names of the archon and the consuls who took office up to eight or nine months later, seems well founded. In the later years of Alexander's life, Diodorus's chronology becomes quite confused.[1]

Earlier, in Book 16, on the other hand, the assignment of the battle of Chaeronea to 338/7 B.C. (chaps. 84-87) shows that Diodorus was there not following the Macedonian calendar. His choice in each case was presumably made for him in his source. His assignment of the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium to 341/0 B.C. (chaps. 74-76), while they were narrated by Philochorus under 340/39 B.C. (F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 328, F 54), is explained by the fact that the events occurred in the spring and summer of 340 B.C.

Sources and Character of the Narrative, Book XVI

Unlike Book 17, which only rarely interrupts the story of Alexander's career to mention events else-

[1] The chronological system followed by the *Marmor Parium* is somewhat different, and seems to have no bearing on the tradition of Diodorus. Cp. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 239, B 1-8, and Jacoby's commentary, pp. 698-702.

where, the second half of Book 16 contains two principal narratives, interspersed by two literary references (chaps. 71. 3 ; 76. 5-6) and a number of notes referring to other matters, chiefly of a chronological interest : the Molossians (chap. 72. 1), Caria (chap. 74. 2), Tarentum (chap. 88. 3-4), Heracleia Pontica (chap. 88. 5), Cius (chap. 90. 2) and Rome (chaps. 69. 1 ; 90. 2). There are two references to Athenian activities (chaps. 74. 1 ; 88. 1-2). Otherwise the stories of Timoleon and of Philip are interwoven on a chronological basis (Timoleon : chaps. 66–69. 6 ; 70. 1-6 ; 72. 2–73. 3 ; 77. 4–83 ; 90. 1 ; Philip : chaps. 69. 7-8 ; 71. 1-2 ; 74. 2–76. 4 ; 77. 2-3 ; 84. 1–87. 3 ; 89 ; 91-95). The source or sources of all this have been much discussed, and certainty is impossible.

In one chapter (83), it is reasonable to suppose that Diodorus, the Siciliote, is writing from his own observation, as he expressly does of Alexandria in Book 17. 52. 6. Otherwise the problem of Diodorus's sources is complicated by the fact that we have very few specific fragments of earlier historians whom he may have used in this period. Since we have so little, for example, of Ephorus, Theopompus, Diyllus, Timaeus and the rest, and since J. Palm has shown how drastically Diodorus not only abridged and even distorted his sources but also rephrased them (*Über Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien*, 1955), all analyses based on style are unrewarding. On the other hand, there are certain indications which may be mentioned.

In the latter part of Book 16, Diodorus quotes Demosthenes (chaps. 84-85) and Lycurgus (chap. 88), possibly also Demades (chap. 87), and these quotations may or may not have been direct. On one occasion he uses a word which may be traced back to

Theopompus (chap. 70. 3; p. 37, n. 6). He specifically mentions Theopompus (chap. 71. 3) and Ephorus and Diyllus (chap. 76. 5) as authors whom he knew and presumably had read. Once he seems to differ from the little known historian Athanis (chap. 82. 5; p. 67, n. 6). Diyllus, Ephorus, and Theopompus together can have covered all the events here described by Diodorus. I do not feel, with most of the commentators, that chap. 71. 3 means that Theopompus dealt with no Sicilian events later than the expulsion of Dionysius; he merely did not devote any books exclusively to the area after Book 43.

A certain presumption exists that Diodorus took his account of Timoleon from Theopompus (or possibly from Diyllus, but we know almost nothing about him), or, at any rate, not from Timaeus, in view of the markedly different tone of his narrative from that of Plutarch. Plutarch's *Timoleon* is a barely probable and clearly tendentious eulogy; cp. E. Schwartz, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 5 (1905), 687, and especially the analysis of H. D. Westlake, *Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants* (1951). Diodorus, on the other hand, while laudatory, is generally credible. If Plutarch's account goes back to Timaeus, as is very likely in view of that writer's great partiality for Timoleon (Polybius, Book 12; cp. Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 566; R. Laqueur, *Real-Encyclopädie*, A 11 (1936), 1156-1162; T. S. Brown, *Timaeus of Tauromenium*, 1958), then Diodorus must have drawn on another source.

In the case of Philip, the only specific evidence we have is that (in contrast with the situation in Book 17) the story of Diodorus differs sharply from that of Trogus-Justin. Diodorus's account of Philip is generally favourable. The Greeks joined Philip willingly

out of gratitude and affection (chaps. 69. 8 ; 71. 2) ; Philip preferred to make friends rather than to defeat enemies (chap. 95. 3). In Justin, on the other hand, Philip is wily and treacherous. I make no suggestion as to the source of Justin, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Diodorus's portrait is taken from Theopompus. It is true that the preserved fragments of the *Philippic History* do not give a rounded picture of Philip. Many of them are concerned with his conviviality (or depravity, depending on how you look at it). Theopompus was evidently interested in stories of the festive life in general, and so was Athenaeus, through whose agency most of these reports have been preserved. Drinking and conjoined activities were a Macedonian pleasure. We see this also in the case of Alexander. In Diodorus, however, this is all controlled and made serviceable to Philip's political ends, as in the celebration following the victory of Chaeronea (chap. 87) and in the wedding of Cleopatra (chap. 91). Essentially the same balance appears in Theopompus (note especially Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 115, F 162). We may remember Theopompus's critical attitude toward Demosthenes, as reported in Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 13. 1 ; 25-26. This strongly suggests a favourable attitude towards Philip.[1]

As to the narrative in the second part of Book 16 in general, Diodorus displays the unevenness for which he is well known. He indulges in vague generalities and often fails to get things quite right. On the other hand, he is capable of writing, or of

[1] Cp. further the useful studies of the sources of Book 16 by P. Treves, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa ; Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, 2. 6 (1937), 255-279, and N. G. L. Hammond, *Classical Quarterly*, 31 (1937), 79-91 ; 32 (1938), 136-151.

repeating, dramatic and exciting stories. His account of the siege of Perinthus (chaps. 74-76), of the battle of the Crimisus (chaps. 79-80), of Chaeronea (chaps. 84-87), and of the death of Philip (chaps. 91-95) are good reading, all the more because in all but the second instance they are our only surviving account of these events. Diodorus is interested in the operation of Fortune and the reverses which that deity could produce (chap. 70. 2) and he is piously delighted when sacrilegious men meet their just deserts (chaps. 78–79. 1 ; 82. 1-2). We may be grateful that he has been preserved.

Sources and Character of the Narrative, Book XVII

Diodorus does not name his source or sources in the Alexander History,[1] nor does he anywhere cite any of the historians of Alexander except in Book 2. 7. 3, where Cleitarchus is quoted as his authority for the size of Babylon. Ptolemy, the future king and Arrian's principal source, is mentioned only as an actor in the story. Diodorus does not even give in a literary note information about historians who dealt with the period, as he does frequently elsewhere ; for example, in Book 16. 71. 3 and 76. 5. Once he refers to his own observation in Alexandria and what was told him of the city and the country during his visit to Egypt (chap. 52. 6). Otherwise he tells a factual story on his own responsibility, rarely insert-

[1] The only direct quotation (chap. 4. 8) is from Aeschines, and as with that from Demosthenes in Book 16, the quotation probably occurred in his immediate source.

ing an " it is said " or " they say " in support of a specific statement (chaps. 4. 8 ; 85. 2 ; 92. 1 ; 110. 7 ; 115. 5 ; 118. 1). Twice he introduces an item with the words " as some have written," in one case (chap. 73. 4) certainly, in the other (chap. 65. 5) probably, to give a variant version ; the language of the latter instance is confused in a way which elsewhere is most naturally explained as due to Diodorus's careless abridgement of his source.[1]

Our knowledge of the career of Alexander the Great is based primarily upon the surviving accounts of Diodorus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and Arrian, and upon the excerpts of Pompeius Trogus made by Justin ; the earliest of these belongs to the period of Augustus. Behind them lie the narrators of the early Hellenistic period, the fragments of whose histories have been collected by Jacoby and translated by Robinson.[2] Ever since the beginning of modern scholarship, commentators have been busy with the problem posed by these relationships in the attempt to provide a scientific basis for reconstructing the personality and the accomplishments of the great Macedonian. Their answers have varied all the way from that of Schwartz, who regarded Diodorus's Book 17 as merely an abridgement of the history of Cleitarchus of Alexandria, to that of Tarn, who believed that Diodorus used a variety of sources including

[1] These instances are listed by W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Vol. 2 (1948), p. 63, note 5. There is also the mention of the " Caucasus, which some call Mt. Paropanisus " (chap. 83. 1). Diodorus visited Egypt in 60–56 B.C. (Book 1. 44. 1 ; 46. 7).

[2] Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, nos. 117-153 ; C. A. Robinson, Jr., *The History of Alexander the Great*, Vol. 1 (Providence, 1953). See Addenda.

Aristobulus, Cleitarchus, and a "Mercenaries Source" never mentioned by any ancient writer.[1]

I suspect that the question has been phrased wrongly. When, for example, we find Diodorus giving the number of Sambus's subjects killed as 80,000 (chap. 102), and Curtius, in giving the same figure, attributes it to Cleitarchus, are we then required to suppose that Diodorus, or Curtius either, used Cleitarchus as his source? Curtius's statement establishes that Cleitarchus gave that figure, but that is all. We may speak of Diodorus and Curtius as "following" Cleitarchus, but there is nothing to prove that they did not find Cleitarchus's statement in another history than his own. It was the custom for abridgers and compilators in antiquity to pass on such comments in their sources, even when these were not precisely applicable to their own texts.[2]

Completeness in these matters is impossible to attain, but I may list instances which I have observed where Diodorus "follows" one or another of the primary historians of Alexander. The evidence is given below in notes on the relevant passages.

Crows guided Alexander on the road to Siwah (chap. 49; Callisthenes and Aristobulus).

The meaning of the oracle of Ammon was con-

[1] E. Schwartz, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 5 (1905), cols. 682-684; Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, pp. 63-91. For criticisms of Tarn's analysis cp. T. S. Brown, *American Journal of Philology*, 71 (1950), 134-155; M. J. Fontana, *Kokalos*, 1 (1955), 155-190; O. Seel, *Pompei Trogi Fragmenta* (1956), 84-119; E. Badian, *Classical Quarterly*, 52 (1958), 144-157.

[2] Curt Wachsmuth, *Ueber das Geschichtswerk des Sikelioten Diodorus*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 3-6. R. Laqueur, *Hermes*, 86 (1958), 257-290, thinks that Diodorus used little but scissors and paste.

veyed by nods and signs (chap. 50 ; Callisthenes).

Alexandria was founded after Alexander's return from Siwah (chap. 52 ; Aristobulus).

Thaïs incited Alexander to burn Persepolis (chap. 72 ; Cleitarchus).

Alexander found in Hyrcania a tree dripping honey (Onesicritus) and a ferocious bee (Cleitarchus ; chap. 75).

The queen of the Amazons stayed with Alexander thirteen days in Hyrcania [1] (chap. 77 ; Cleitarchus,[2] Onesicritus, and others).

In northern India, Alexander found imitative monkeys (Cleitarchus), snakes sixteen cubits long (Cleitarchus) and small poisonous snakes (Nearchus), as well as huge banyan trees (chap. 90 ; Onesicritus and Aristobulus).

Alexander found the Adrestians practising suttee and the subjects of Sopithes admiring human beauty (chap. 91 ; Onesicritus).

Alexander killed 80,000 subjects of Sambus (chap. 102 ; Cleitarchus).

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, Sect. 46, is our source. He states at the beginning of the section that the visit of the Amazon took place *entautha*. Just previously, Plutarch has referred to Alexander's crossing of the Jaxartes River, and Tarn and Jacoby take the *entautha* to refer to that area. That reference, however, is introduced only as an illustration of Alexander's disregard of his bodily injuries or infirmities, and the thread of the narrative shows that the visit of the Amazon occurred about where Diodorus places it. At the beginning of section 45, Alexander advanced into Parthia, and at the beginning of section 47, he marched into Hyrcania. The incident of the Jaxartes is an *obiter dictum*, remote from its chronological and geographical location.

[2] On this historian cp. recently T. S. Brown, *Onesicritus, A Study in Hellenistic Historiography* (1949).

The Oreitae exposed their dead (Onesicritus), and the Gedrosians let their fingernails grow long (Cleitarchus) and built their houses out of whales' ribs (Nearchus; all chap. 105).

Alexander celebrated his own and Nearchus's safe completion of the journey from India (chap. 106; somewhat variously in Nearchus and Onesicritus).

Nearchus reported whales frightened by noise (chap. 106; Nearchus).

Harpalus kept various mistresses (chap. 108; Cleitarchus and Theopompus).

This is evidently not the material from which statistics are built, but it may be noted that Diodorus "follows" Cleitarchus eight times, Onesicritus six times, Nearchus and Aristobulus three times each, and Callisthenes twice. No one has ever supposed that Diodorus wrote in such an eclectic fashion, even if we were to believe that he would have dissembled his erudition by failing to mention it. Evidently these attributions are of different sorts. From Aristobulus and Callisthenes came a basic narrative, from Nearchus details of his own voyage and Indian experiences, and from Cleitarchus and Onesicritus various curiosities. Since all of these authors wrote systematic histories, it is clear that they all must have told much the same story, differing in detail. Perhaps the later of them referred by name to their predecessors. Diodorus can be best supposed to have followed a single manuscript which contained all of this material.

Little more can be asserted positively, in view of our lack of certainty as to Diodorus's method of work in general.[1] Probably he followed one source for any

[1] Jonas Palm, *Ueber Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien* (Lund, 1955).

given subject, rewriting rather than excerpting, and adding additional material when it occurred to him. It has been impossible to establish any instance where he collated two or more parallel accounts. If, then, we should look for a single source for Book 17, what can that have been?

Lacking any extensive text of any of the primary historians, and in some uncertainty as to the scope and manner and even the date of many of them, it is impossible for us to prove or to disprove that Diodorus used, for example, Aristobulus or Cleitarchus.[1] It seems certain, of course, that he did not use Ptolemy; and specific disagreement with Aristobulus and Cleitarchus makes it unlikely that he used them directly.[2]

[1] Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, pp. 5-43) argues with great ingenuity that Cleitarchus was a later writer than Aristobulus, insisting particularly that Aristobulus wrote in the 280s at the latest, that the geographer Patrocles wrote 281 or later, and that Cleitarchus used, and so followed, Patrocles. This is, however, at the cost of mistranslating (p. 11, note 3) the clear statement of Strabo (11. 7. 3) that Aristobulus used Patrocles. I am myself willing to take the statement of Diodorus (Book 2. 7. 3) literally when he refers to "Cleitarchus and some of those who later crossed with Alexander to Asia." I find nothing in the fragments of Cleitarchus to demonstrate that he was not with Alexander during the campaigns, and whatever may have been his manner or his substance of writing, he was as much an eyewitness of the events as Aristobulus. Which of the two wrote earlier may well be impossible to say, but there is a report that Aristobulus wrote late in life, like Ptolemy (Lucian, *Macrobioi*, 22 = Jacoby, no. 139, T 3; in the opposite sense, Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda*, 12 = Jacoby, T 4). Cp. further Fontana and Badian, *op. cit.*

[2] It is always hard to prove a negative. When Diodorus gives an account differing from a known fragment of an earlier writer, he may not have used him or he may sinply have omitted or altered his account for some reason. There is little evidence against Diodorus's following Cleitarchus,

On the other hand, in spite of the objections of Tarn, I regard it as certain that whatever source Diodorus used, it was the same as that employed by Curtius.[1] Schwartz assembled a formidable list of parallels between the two writers, without exhausting the subject.[2] It is adequate to prove the point. To reconstruct this source would be a useful task ; it obviously

although we might have expected him in that case to include Ptolemy with Peucestas as Alexander's champion in the city of the Malli (chap. 99 ; cp. Jacoby, no. 137, F 24). There is more in the case of Aristobulus, who did not report the visit of Alexander and Hephaestion upon the Persian queen dowager (chap. 37 ; Jacoby, F 10) nor that of the Amazon upon Alexander (chap. 77 ; Jacoby, F 21). He confined the flora of the Caucasus to terebinth and asafoetida (chap. 83 ; Jacoby, F 23) and he omitted Alexander's well-known commission of his kingdom "to the strongest" (chap. 117 ; Jacoby, F 60). On the other hand, Diodorus often agrees with him, as in the arrest of Bessus by his generals, not by Ptolemy (chap. 83 ; Jacoby, F 24) ; Ptolemy wrote that he had done it (Jacoby, no. 138, F 14). This list of agreements and disagreements could be extended, but additional, more or less certain examples would prove no more. Diodorus often agrees with Aristobulus and Cleitarchus, sometimes differs from them. Considering Diodorus's known method of work, it is easier to suppose that he used a source which was based on their histories than that he himself was so selective.

[1] *Alexander the Great*, pp. 91-122. Tarn believed that the account of Curtius was unfriendly to Alexander, that of Diodorus friendly in part, and so the two could not be based on a common source. He believed that similarities in the narratives could be accounted for by the supposition that Curtius used Diodorus (pp. 116-122). It is unnecessary to point out that this argument is highly subjective. Cp. Badian, *loc. cit.*

[2] Schwartz, *loc. cit.* His list of parallels is so full that I do not need to comment further. Again and again, Diodorus and Curtius agree so closely that the hypothesis of a common source is inescapable, while one or the other, usually Curtius, is often so much fuller that they cannot have influenced each other directly.

cannot be attempted here. Both Diodorus and Curtius give much which the other lacks and certainly add much of their own, especially Curtius: the long speeches with which his narrative abounds may be his own composition. Enough remains in Justin to suggest, although not to prove, that the history of Trogus was at least very similar.

Like Diodorus, Trogus wrote a universal history. He gave like Diodorus an account of events in Greece, like Diodorus also omitting contemporary events in the West. It was long ago suggested that Diodorus's source was a general history, and Wachsmuth's suggestion of Diyllus of Athens, although rejected by Jacoby, would seem to fit well enough, although we know very little of Diyllus. Fontana suggests that the source was Duris of Samos, but again, we know very little of Duris. Both are mentioned in Book 21. 5-6, as if still used. Is it, on the other hand, possible that Diodorus used Trogus? For Curtius, writing in the Flavian period, there is no chronological problem, but Diodorus and Trogus were contemporaries, writing under Augustus, and we have no way of knowing which was the earlier. This is, in fact, the conclusion of Seel (*op. cit.*, especially p. 116), as I discovered after I had found myself moving inevitably in the same direction. It is true that Diodorus did not use Trogus in Book 16 (above, p. 4). But the three writers worked in Rome, and must have been known to each other. Trogus used Greek sources and wrote in Latin, a language with which Diodorus was familiar (Book 1. 4. 4). Curtius also wrote in Latin. If Diodorus and Curtius had used Trogus, they had reason enough not to say so. Ancient historians did not like to cite secondary sources by name, and in the case of Dio-

dorus, the admission that he followed the narrative of a contemporary would be a confession of plagiarism, only slightly mitigated by the fact that his source was a Gaul who wrote for Romans while he was a Sicilian who wrote for Greeks.[1]

In any event, the account of Diodorus is of interest and importance, although his conventional style of writing and his carelessness in abridgement often deprive him of the clarity and dramatic effect for which he aimed.[2] His expression is turgid and laboured. True to his principles expressed in his introduction (Book 1. 1-5), he administers praise and blame and attempts to edify, calling attention to the reversals inflicted by Fortune. This has been thought to have a Stoic tone, but his enthusiasm as a narrator is called forth by valiant deeds of war, battles and sieges. This leads to a somewhat stereotyped pattern of engagement, combat with fluctuating success, and disengagement, and makes one suspect both that historical details have been blurred and that extraneous rhetorical material has been introduced. Nevertheless in more than one instance Diodorus preserves specific and statistical information which we should otherwise lack.

Without attempting completeness, I may list some of the incidents told by Diodorus which are lacking in the other preserved historians.

[1] If Diodorus was using a Latin source for Book 17, we should have an explanation for his lack of technical terminology. The ἑταῖροι of Arrian appear as φίλοι (but cp. chap. 114. 2), even when the reference is to the Companion Cavalry (chap. 57. 1 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, also uses φίλοι, but not always, cp. 19. 3). The ὑπασπισταί (correctly in chap. 99. 4) appear as Silver Shields (chap. 57. 2) or as ὑπηρέται (chap. 109. 2 : Latin *satellites* ; in chap. 110. 1, the term is used of the Companion Cavalry). See Addenda.

[2] Palm, *loc. cit.*

1. The removal of Attalus (chaps. 2, 5).
2. Description of Mt. Ida, and of Memnon's campaign in the Troad (chap. 7).
3. Appeal to Alexander by Antipater and Parmenion to beget an heir before crossing over to Asia (chap. 16).
4. Detailed figures of Alexander's army (chap. 17).
5. The fallen statue of Ariobarzanes (chap. 17).
6. The Persian order of battle at the Granicus (chap. 19).
7. Dispatch of Memnon's wife to the Great King (chap. 23).
8. Exploits of Ephialtes and Thrasybulus at Halicarnassus (chap. 25).
9. Suicide of the Marmares (chap. 28).
10. Alexander's substitution of the forged letter from the Great King (chap. 39).
11. Mechanisms of attack and defence at Tyre (chap. 43).[1]
12. Description of Alexandria (chap. 52).
13. Revolt of Memnon in Thrace (chap. 62).
14. Reorganization of the army (chap. 65).
15. Transport of fruit from the country of the Uxii to Babylon (chap. 67).
16. Description of Persepolis (chap. 71).
17. The institution of suttee (chap. 91).
18. Description of Ecbatana (chap. 110).
19. Description of Hephaestion's funeral pyre (chap. 115).

On other occasions, Diodorus gives a narrative differing from that of the other historians of Alex-

[1] Tarn (p. 121) thinks that Diodorus's source may have been a Hellenistic siege manual, but this is pure speculation.

ander. Sometimes, but by no means always, he is in error.

1. His account of the siege of Thebes is longer than that of Arrian ; the Thebans fight well, and Alexander's victory is gained by a stratagem (chaps. 8-13).
2. The account of events at Athens is short, and emphasizes the part of Demades ; Phocion does not appear, and no one is exiled (chap. 15).
3. At the Granicus, Diodorus has Alexander cross the river unopposed in the morning, probably locating the battle downstream from Arrian (chap. 19).
4. Neoptolemus is killed while fighting on the Macedonian side at Halicarnassus (almost certainly wrong ; chap. 25).
5. Alexander did not receive Parmenion's appeal for help at Gaugamela (chap. 60).
6. Alexander was wrecked on the Indus (chap. 97).
7. The Oreitae expose their dead to be eaten by wild beasts (Onesicritus in Strabo 11. 11. 3 tells a similar story of the Bactrians, but the victims were the sick and elderly ; chap. 105).

At times, Diodorus omits elements which are traditional parts of the Alexander history.

1. The boyhood of Alexander.
2. The heroism of Timocleia of Thebes.
3. The sweating statue of Orpheus in Pieria and the visit to Diogenes at Corinth.
4. The adoption of Alexander by Ada, the Carian queen, and Alexander's attack on Myndus.

5. The miraculous passage of the Climax in Lycia and the episode of the Gordian knot.
6. There is no description of Babylon (already in Book 2. 7. 3) or of Susa.
7. Alexander feels no shame for the burning of Persepolis.
8. No real mutiny on the Hyphasis. Alexander saw and pitied his soldiers' weariness.
9. No voyage to the Rann of Kutch.

In these idiosyncrasies, of course, Diodorus invites comparison with Curtius and Justin, rather than with Plutarch and Arrian, whose sources were different. The Persian or Greek point of view which Diodorus reflects at times may have been lacking in Ptolemy and perhaps in Aristobulus also. On the other hand, taken in contrast with Curtius, Diodorus writes essentially sober history little coloured by rhetoric, and I find it quite impossible to follow Tarn in finding in Diodorus an unhappy blend of favourable and unfavourable elments drawn from different traditions.[1] As a matter of fact, prejudice may always exist in our sources, although such comments as that of Arrian (Book 7. 14. 2–3 ; cp. Just. 12. 12. 12) are directed to the moral judgements of historians expressed as judgements, not by way of distortion of fact. Probably ancient as well as modern historians have tended to omit or to stress traditional stories depending on how these fitted their own concept of Alexander. Nevertheless there is a risk in our following this principle too enthusiastically in source criticism. How can we know, for example, that any given ancient would have regarded the burning of Persepolis (it was, of course, a little silly to burn

[1] So also Badian, *loc. cit.*

your own property) or the massacre of 80,000 subjects of Sambus as unworthy of the great Macedonian?

* * *

The editing of this volume was originally assigned to Professor Sherman, who had so capably handled the problems of Volume VII of this series, and came into my hands after his untimely and regretted death. He had made a good beginning with the translation, and I owe much to him, although, translation being a subjective thing, not much of his phrasing remains. I thank Mrs. Martin A. Peacock for her meticulous care in typing my manuscript.

For the manuscripts of these books, I may refer to the notes in the previous volumes of this series. My text is essentially that of C. Th. Fischer in the Teubner, and I have made no independent collation of the readings. It will be noted, however, that I have been more conservative than Fischer, more conservative than Professor Post would wish, in admitting corrections. I have preferred to follow the manuscripts as closely as possible in view of their differences rather than to make corrections of even obvious errors. The impression which others have formed of Diodorus's often careless method of abridgement of his sources leads me to suspect that these errors are as likely to be due to Diodorus himself as to copiers, and in any given instance it is difficult if not impossible to determine the responsibility. Preferable readings and corrections will be found in the notes.

The footnotes appended to the translation are intended to furnish material of use to a general reader interested in this period of classical antiquity, and also, especially in the Alexander story, to provide a

guide to the parallel accounts of other ancient writers. In editing Diodorus, it is impossible to attempt the harmony of the Alexander historians for which we look confidently to Professor C. A. Robinson, Jr. In pointing out, however, the close parallelism which exists between the narratives of Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin, in contrast especially with that of Arrian, I have intended to furnish documentation of my thesis of a common origin of these three, mentioned earlier in this Introduction.

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY

OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XVI

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

66. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν Εὐβούλου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τιμολέων ὁ Κορίνθιος προκεχειρισμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Συρακούσσαις στρατηγίαν παρεσκευάζετο
2 πρὸς τὸν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔκπλουν. ἑπτακοσίους μὲν οὖν ξένους ἐμισθώσατο, στρατιωτῶν δὲ τέσσαρας[1] τριήρεις πληρώσας καὶ ταχυναυτούσας τρεῖς ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ Κορίνθου. ἐν παράπλῳ δὲ παρὰ Λευκαδίων καὶ Κορκυραίων τρεῖς ναῦς προσλαβόμενος ἐπεραιοῦτο δέκα[2] ναυσὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καλούμενον πόρον.

3 Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ

[1] τέσσαρας] πέντε PX. Cp. chap. 68. 5-6 and Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 8. 3, where the total is ten. But Anaximenes, *Rhet.* 8. 3: Κορίνθιοι Συρακουσίοις ἐννέα τριήρεσι βοηθήσαντες.
[2] δέκα] δέκα καὶ μιᾷ PX.

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY

OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XVI

66. When Eubulus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Servius Sulpicius.[1] In this year Timoleon the Corinthian, who had been chosen by his fellow-citizens to command in Syracuse, made ready for his expedition to Sicily. He enrolled seven hundred mercenaries and, putting his men aboard four triremes and three fast-sailing ships, set sail from Corinth. As he coasted along he picked up three additional ships from the Leucadians and the Corcyraeans, and so with ten ships he crossed the Ionian Gulf.[2] 345/4 B.C.

During this voyage, a peculiar and strange event

[1] Eubulus was archon from July 345 to June 344 B.C. Broughton (1. 131) gives the consuls of 345 B.C. as M. Fabius Dorsuo and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Rufus.
[2] The narrative is continued from chap. 65. There is a parallel but often differing account of these events in Plutarch, *Timoleon*, wherein (7. 1-3; 8. 3) the ten ships are itemized as seven Corinthian, one Leucadian, and two Corcyraean. This distinction between triremes and "fast-sailing ships" is artificial.

Τιμολέοντι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν, τοῦ δαιμονίου συνεπι-
λαβομένου τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ προσημαίνοντος τὴν
ἐσομένην περὶ αὐτὸν εὐδοξίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα τῶν
πράξεων· δι' ὅλης γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς προηγεῖτο λαμ-
πὰς καιομένη κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν μέχρι οὗ συνέβη
4 τὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καταπλεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ
Τιμολέων προακηκοὼς ἦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν τῆς
Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερειῶν ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον
αὐταῖς αἱ θεαὶ προήγγειλαν[1] συμπλεύσεσθαι τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν εἰς τὴν
5 ἱερὰν αὐτῶν νῆσον. διόπερ ὁ Τιμολέων καὶ οἱ
συμπλέοντες περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς τῶν θεῶν συνερ-
γουσῶν αὐτοῖς. τὴν δ' ἀρίστην τῶν νεῶν καθιε-
ρώσας ταῖς θεαῖς ὁ Τιμολέων ὠνόμασεν αὐτὴν
Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱεράν.

Καταπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου χωρὶς κινδύνων
εἰς Μεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπικατέπλευσε Καρ-
χηδονία τριήρης ἔχουσα πρεσβευτὰς Καρχηδονίους.
6 οὗτοι δ' ἐντυχόντες τῷ Τιμολέοντι διεμαρτύραντο
μὴ κατάρχειν πολέμου μηδ' ἐπιβαίνειν τῇ Σικελίᾳ.
ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων, ἐπικαλουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν Ῥη-
γίνων καὶ συμμαχήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἐξέπλευ-
σεν εὐθέως ἐκ τοῦ Μεταποντίου σπεύδων φθάσαι
7 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν φήμην· σφόδρα γὰρ εὐλαβεῖτο μή-
ποτε Καρχηδόνιοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντες κωλύσωσιν
αὐτὸν εἰς Σικελίαν διαπλεῦσαι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν
κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐτέλει τὸν εἰς Ῥήγιον πλοῦν.

67. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ βραχὺ πρὸ τούτων τῶν και-
ρῶν πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν
ἐσομένου πολέμου ταῖς μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν συμ-
μαχίσι πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέροντο καὶ πρὸς

[1] So MSS. except PX προσήγγειλαν.

345/4 B.C.

happened to Timoleon. Heaven came to the support of his venture and foretold his coming fame and the glory of his achievements, for all through the night he was preceded by a torch blazing in the sky up to the moment when the squadron made harbour in Italy. Now Timoleon had heard already in Corinth from the priestesses of Demeter and Persephonê [1] that, while they slept, the goddesses had told them that they would accompany Timoleon on his voyage to their sacred island. He and his companions were, in consequence, delighted, recognizing that the goddesses were in fact giving them their support. He dedicated his best ship to them, calling it "The Sacred Ship of Demeter and Persephonê." [2]

Encountering no hazards, the squadron put in at Metapontum in Italy, and so, shortly after, did a Carthaginian trireme also bringing Carthaginian ambassadors. Accosting Timoleon, they warned him solemnly not to start a war or even to set foot in Sicily. But the people of Rhegium were calling him and promised to join him as allies, and so Timoleon quickly put out from Metapontum hoping to outstrip the report of his coming. Since the Carthaginians controlled the seas, he was afraid that they would prevent his crossing over to Sicily. He was, then, hastily completing his passage to Rhegium.

67. Shortly before this, the Carthaginians on their part had come to see that there would be a serious war in Sicily and began making friendly representations to the cities in the island which were their allies. Renouncing their opposition to the tyrants

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 8. 1.

[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 8. 1, states that this dedication was made by the Corinthians before the departure of the flotilla.

τοὺς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τυράννους τὴν διαφορὰν καταλύσαντες φιλίαν συνέθεντο, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς Ἱκέταν τὸν τῶν Συρακοσίων δυναστεύοντα διὰ τὸ τοῦτον
2 πλεῖον[1] ἰσχύειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὴν δύναμιν ναυτικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν παρασκευασάμενοι διεβίβασαν εἰς Σικελίαν, Ἄννωνα στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσαντες. εἶχον δὲ μακρὰς ναῦς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, στρατιώτας δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισμυρίους,[2] ἅρματα δὲ τριακόσια, συνωρίδας δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχιλίας, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὅπλα καὶ βέλη παντοδαπὰ καὶ μηχανὰς πολιορκητικὰς παμπληθεῖς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλῆθος ἀνυπέρβλητον.
3 Ἐπὶ πρώτην δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἐντελλίνων πόλιν ἐλθόντες τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄωσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους εἰς πολιορκίαν συνέκλεισαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατοικοῦντες Καμπανοὶ καταπλαγέντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένας πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ βοηθείας. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουσεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Γαλερίαν[3] πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἐξέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας ὁπλίτας χιλίους. τούτοις δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντες οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ περιχυθέντες τῷ πλήθει
4 πάντας κατέκοψαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Αἴτνην κατοικοῦντες Καμπανοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεσκευάζοντο συμμαχίαν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἔντελλαν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τῶν Γαλερίνων συμφορὰν ἀκούσαντες ἔκριναν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.

68. Τοῦ δὲ Διονυσίου κυριεύοντος τῶν Συρα-

[1] Hertlein suggested πλεῖστον, but Hicetas controlled only part of Syracuse.
[2] The loss, *e.g.*, of ἱππεῖς δὲ . . . χιλίους was suggested by Madvig.
[3] So PRF: Γαλέρειαν X.

throughout the island, they established friendship with them, and particularly they addressed themselves to Hicetas, the most powerful of these, because he had the Syracusans under his control.[1] They prepared and transported to Sicily a large sea and land force of their own, and appointed Hanno to the command as general. They had one hundred and fifty battleships, fifty thousand infantry, three hundred war chariots, over two thousand extra teams of horses,[2] and besides all this, armour and missiles of every description, numerous siege engines, and an enormous supply of food and other materials of war. 345/4 B.C.

Advancing first on Entella, they devastated the countryside and blockaded the country people inside the city. The Campanians who occupied the city were alarmed at the odds against them and appealed for help to the other cities that were hostile to the Carthaginians. Of these, none responded except the city of Galeria. These people sent them a thousand hoplites, but the Phoenicians intercepted them, overwhelmed them with a large force, and cut them all down. The Campanians who dwelt in Aetna were at first also ready to send reinforcements to Entella because of kinship, but when they heard of the disaster to the troops from Galeria, they decided to make no move.

68. Now at the time when Dionysius was still mas-

[1] This anticipates the action described in chap. 68, but according to Plutarch's account (*Timoleon*, 7. 3; 9. 2) Hicetas had become an ally of the Carthaginians even before Timoleon left Corinth.
[2] The charioteer receipts of *P. Petrie*, 2. 25, dated in the 21st year of Ptolemy Philadelphus (265/4 B.C.), show that it was customary for chariots to be accompanied by spare horses, trained to work in pairs. This account of Carthaginian operations is not given by Plutarch.

κουσσῶν Ἱκέτας ἔχων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀξιόλογον δύνα-
μιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον χάρακα βαλόμενος περὶ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον[1]
διεπολέμει τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς πόλεως τυράννῳ,[2]
2 χρονιζούσης δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
ἐκλιπόντων ὁ μὲν Ἱκέτας ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Λεοντίνους
(ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ ὡρμᾶτο[3] τῆς πόλεως)· ὁ δὲ Διο-
νύσιος ἐπακολουθήσας αὐτοῖς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν
3 οὐραγίαν συνεστήσατο μάχην. ὁ δ' Ἱκέτας ἐπι-
στρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον συνῆψε μάχην καὶ
πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων[4] μισθοφόρων ἀνελὼν τοὺς
λοιποὺς φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν. ὀξεῖ δὲ τῷ διωγμῷ
χρησάμενος καὶ συνεισπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ἐκράτησε τῶν Συρακουσσῶν πλὴν τῆς Νήσου.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἱκέταν καὶ Διονύσιον ἐν
τούτοις ἦν.
4 Τιμολέων δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν Συρακουσ-
σῶν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ
5 Ῥήγιον καὶ καθωρμίσθη πλησίον τῆς πόλεως. ἐπι-
καταπλευσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἴκοσι
τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν Ῥηγίνων συνεργούντων τῷ
Τιμολέοντι καὶ κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει συν-
αγαγόντων καὶ περὶ συλλύσεως δημηγορούντων οἱ
μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι διαλαβόντες τὸν Τιμολέοντα πει-
σθήσεσθαι τὸν εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπόπλουν ποιήσασθαι
ῥᾳθύμως εἶχον τὰ κατὰ τὰς φυλακάς, ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων
οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν διδοὺς τοῦ δρασμοῦ αὐτὸς μὲν
πλησίον τοῦ βήματος ἔμεινε, λάθρᾳ δὲ παρήγγειλε
6 τὰς ἐννέα ναῦς ἀποπλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην. περι-
σπωμένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ
τοὺς ἐγκαθέτως δημηγοροῦντας μακρῶς τῶν Ῥη-

[1] Ὀλυμπιεῖον PX: Ὀλύμπιον *cet.* (cp. chap. 83. 2).

ter of Syracuse, Hicetas had taken the field against it with a large force,[1] and at first constructing a stockaded camp at the Olympieium carried on war against the tyrant in the city, but as the siege dragged on and provisions ran out, he started back to Leontini, for that was the city which served as his base. Dionysius set out in hot pursuit and overtook his rear, attacking it at once, but Hicetas wheeled upon him, joined battle, and having slain more than three thousand of the mercenaries, put the rest to flight. Pursuing sharply and bursting into the city with the fugitives, he got possession of all Syracuse except the Island.[2] 345/4 B.C.

Such was the situation as regards Hicetas and Dionysius.

Three days after the capture of Syracuse, Timoleon put in at Rhegium and anchored off the city.[3] The Carthaginians promptly turned up with twenty triremes, but the people of Rhegium helped Timoleon to escape the trap. They called a general assembly in the city and staged a formal debate on the subject of a settlement. The Carthaginians expected that Timoleon would be prevailed upon to sail back to Corinth and kept a careless watch. He, however, giving no hint of an intention to slip away, remained close to the tribunal, but secretly ordered nine of his ships to put to sea immediately. Then, while the Carthaginians concentrated their attention on the intentionally long-winded Rhegians, Timoleon stole

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 1. 3. [2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 9. 2.
[3] The same story is told by Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 9. 2–10. 5.

[2] τυρ. τῷ Δ. X: τ. καὶ Δ. P; τ. Δ. R; Δ. τῷ τ. F.
[3] ὡρμᾶτο] ὁρμᾶτο P; ὥρμητο Dindorf.
[4] Hertlein suggested reading τρισχιλίων τῶν.

γίνων ἔλαθεν ὁ Τιμολέων διαδρὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπολε-
λειμμένην ναῦν καὶ ταχέως ἐξέπλευσεν. οἱ δὲ Καρ-
χηδόνιοι καταστρατηγηθέντες ἐπεβάλοντο διώκειν
7 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα· ἐκείνων δὲ προειληφό-
των ἱκανὸν διάστημα καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης
ἔφθασαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα ἀποπλεύσαντες
8 εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης
ἡγούμενος, διὰ παντὸς πεφρονηκὼς τὰ τῶν Συρα-
κοσίων, Ἀνδρόμαχος, φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξατο τοὺς
διωκομένους καὶ πολλὰ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν σω-
τηρίαν αὐτῶν.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἱκέτας ἀναλαβὼν τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους πεντακισχιλίους ἐστρά-
τευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀδρανίτας ἀντιπράττοντας αὐτῷ
καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν· ὁ
δὲ Τιμολέων προσλαβόμενος παρὰ τῶν Ταυρομε-
νίων στρατιώτας ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τοῦ Ταυρομενίου,
10 τοὺς ἅπαντας ἔχων οὐ πλείους τῶν χιλίων. ἀρχο-
μένης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀφορμήσας καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ
τὸ Ἄδρανον δευτεραῖος ἀνελπίστως ἐπέθετο τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Ἱκέταν δειπνοποιουμένοις· παρεισπεσὼν δ᾽
εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ φονεύσας πλείους τῶν
τριακοσίων,[1] ζωγρήσας δὲ περὶ ἑξακοσίους τῆς
11 παρεμβολῆς ἐκράτησε. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγή-
ματι ἕτερον ἐπεισάγων παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τὰς Συρα-
κούσσας ἀφώρμησε καὶ δρομαῖος τὴν ὁδὸν διανύσας

[1] τριακοσίων (cp. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 12. 5)] τετρακοσίων PX.

---

[1] This was the father of the historian Timaeus, who may

away unnoticed to his remaining ship and quickly sailed out of the harbour. The Carthaginians, though outmanœuvred, set out in pursuit, but his fleet had gained a substantial lead, and as night fell it was able to reach Tauromenium before being overtaken. Andromachus,[1] who was the leading man of this city and had constantly favoured the Syracusan cause, welcomed the fugitives hospitably and did much to ensure their safety. 345/4 B.C.

Hicetas now put himself at the head of five thousand of his best soldiers and marched against the Adranitae, who were hostile to him, encamping near their city. Timoleon added to his force some soldiers from Tauromenium and marched out of that city, having all told no more than a thousand men. Setting out at nightfall, he reached Adranum on the second day, and made a surprise attack on Hicetas's men while they were at dinner. Penetrating their defences he killed more than three hundred men, took about six hundred prisoners, and became master of the camp.[2] Capping this manœuvre with another, he proceeded forthwith to Syracuse. Covering the distance at full speed, he fell on the city without

have been tyrant of the city, although Plutarch also (*Timoleon*, 10. 4) describes his position by the same non-technical term as is used here.

[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 12. 3-5, give the same figures for Hicetas's casualties but states that Timoleon had "no more than 1200 men," and adds that one faction in Adranum had invited him. It is possible that Timoleon's success in the surprise attack was due in part to the circumstance that Hicetas was fooled because he still regarded Timoleon as an ally (H. D. Westlake, *Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants* (1952), 15 f.). Plutarch gives the road distance between Tauromenium and Adranum as three hundred and forty furlongs.

ἀπροσδοκήτως προσέπεσε ταῖς Συρακούσσαις, καταταχήσας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς φεύγοντας.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

69. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυκίσκου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον καὶ Μάρκον Πόπλιον,[1] ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἑκατοστὴ καὶ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πρὸς Καρχη-
2 δονίους πρῶτον συνθῆκαι ἐγένοντο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Καρίαν Ἰδριεὺς ὁ δυνάστης τῶν Καρῶν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη ἑπτά, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένη Ἄδα ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα.

3 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Τιμολέων μὲν Ἀδρανίτας καὶ Τυνδαρίτας εἰς συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους παρ' αὐτῶν παρέλαβεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακούσσαις πολλὴ ταραχὴ κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν Διονυσίου μὲν τὴν Νῆσον ἔχοντος, Ἱκέτα δὲ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ Νέας πόλεως κυριεύοντος, Τιμολέοντος δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως παρειληφότος, καὶ Καρχηδονίων τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καταπεπλευκότων εἰς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, πεζοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις πεντακισμυρίοις κατεστρατοπεδευκότων. διόπερ τῶν περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα καταπεπληγμένων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἄλογός
4 τις καὶ παράδοξος ἐγένετο μεταβολή· πρῶτον μὲν

[1] Πομπίλλιον P; Πομπίλιον X.

[1] According to Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 13. 2-3, Timoleon got his first foothold in Syracuse only when Dionysius voluntarily surrendered his holdings to him.

[2] Lyciscus was archon at Athens from July 344 to June 343 B.C. The Olympic Games were celebrated in midsummer of 344 B.C. M. Valerius Corvus and M. Popilius Laenas were consuls in 348 B.C. (Broughton, 1. 129).

warning, having made better time than those who were routed and fleeing.[1] 345/4 B.C.

Such were the events that took place in this year.

69. When Lyciscus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius and Marcus Publius, and the one hundred and ninth Olympiad was celebrated, in which Aristolochus the Athenian won the foot-race.[2] In this year the first treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Carthaginians.[3] In Caria, Idrieus, the ruler of the Carians, died after ruling seven years, and Ada, his sister and wife, succeeding him, ruled for four years.[4] 344/3 B.C.

In Sicily, Timoleon took the Adranitae and the Tyndaritae into his alliance and received not a few reinforcements from them. Great confusion reigned in Syracuse, where Dionysius held the Island, Hicetas Achradina and Neapolis, and Timoleon the rest of the city, while the Carthaginians had put in to the Great Harbour with a hundred and fifty triremes and encamped with fifty thousand men on the shore.[5] Timoleon and his men viewed the odds against them with dismay, but the prospect took a sudden and surprising change for the better. First Marcus,[6] the

[3] This treaty is mentioned also by Livy, 7. 27. 2, and Polybius, 3. 24. Diodorus does not know of the earlier treaty given by Polybius, 3. 22 (cp. H. M. Last, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7 (1928), 859 f.; A. Aymard, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 59 (1957), 277-293).

[4] Continued from chap. 45. 7.

[5] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 17. 2, gives the same number of ships, but 60,000 men. Tyndaris was a city on the north coast of Sicily thirty miles from Tauromenium.

[6] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 13. 1, and elsewhere, calls him "Mamercus," and Diodorus's name may be due to a scribal error. On the other hand, as an Italian, Mamercus may well have borne the praenomen Marcus.

γὰρ Μάρκος[1] ὁ τῶν Καταναίων τύραννος δύναμιν
ἀξιόλογον ἔχων προσέθετο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, ἔπειτα
πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων ὀρεγόμενα τῆς ἐλευθερίας
ἀπέκλινε πρὸς αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Κορίνθιοι
δέκα ναῦς πληρώσαντες χρήματά τε πορίσαντες
5 ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας. ὧν πραχθέν-
των Τιμολέων μὲν ἐθάρρησεν, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι
φοβηθέντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ἀλόγως καὶ
μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπικράτειαν
6 ἀπηλλάγησαν. μονωθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱκέτα Τιμο-
λέων περιγενόμενος τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησε τῶν
Συρακουσσῶν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην μετα-
τεθειμένην[2] πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἀνεκτήσατο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Φίλιππος πατρικὴν
ἔχθραν διαδεδεγμένος πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ τὴν δια-
φορὰν ἀμετάθετον ἔχων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυ-
ρίδα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. πορθήσας δὲ τὴν
χώραν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πολισμάτων χειρωσάμενος
μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδο-
8 νίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν
καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐκβαλὼν ἰδί-
ους ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἐποιήσατο τοὺς Θετταλούς· ἤλπιζε
γὰρ τούτους ἔχων συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ῥᾳδίως εἰς εὔνοιαν προτρέψασθαι· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη
γενέσθαι. εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τῶν Ἑλλή-

[1] Μάμερκος Casaubon (cp. Nepos, *Timoleon*, 2. 4; Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 13. 1).

[2] So Dindorf; μετατιθεμένην.

tyrant of Catania, came over to Timoleon with a considerable army, and then many of the outlying Syracusan forts declared for him in a move to gain their independence. On top of all this, the Corinthians manned ten ships, supplied them with money, and dispatched them to Syracuse.[1] Thereupon Timoleon plucked up courage but the Carthaginians took alarm and unaccountably sailed out of the harbour, returning with all their forces to their own territory.[2] Hicetas was left isolated, while Timoleon victoriously occupied Syracuse.[3] Then he proceeded to recover Messana, which had gone over to the Carthaginians.[4] 344/3 B.C.

Such was the state of affairs in Sicily.

In Macedonia, Philip had inherited from his father a quarrel with the Illyrians and found no means of reconciling the disagreement. He therefore invaded Illyria with a large force, devasted the countryside, captured many towns, and returned to Macedonia laden with booty.[5] Then he marched into Thessaly, and by expelling tyrants from the cities won over the Thessalians through gratitude. With them as his allies, he expected that the Greeks too would easily be won over also to his favour; and that is just what happened. The neighbouring Greeks straightway as-

[1] According to Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 16. 1-2, the Corinthians sent 2000 hoplites and 200 cavalry to Thurii, but the force made its way to Sicily only somewhat later (*Timoleon*, 19).

[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 20, tells a different and more circumstantial and picturesque account of the Carthaginian withdrawal.

[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 21. 3.

[4] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 20. 1, places this event earlier.

[5] This campaign may be the one referred to below, chap. 93. 6. The narrative of Philip's activities is continued from chap. 60.

νων συνενεχθέντες τῇ τῶν Θετταλῶν κρίσει συμμαχίαν προθύμως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο.

70. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πυθοδότου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Πλαύτιον καὶ Τίτον Μάλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τιμολέων καταπληξάμενος Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὑπόσπονδον,
2 ἔχοντα τὰ ἴδια χρήματα. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δι' ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ταπεινότητα ψυχῆς τήν τε περιβόητον τυραννίδα καὶ δεδεμένην, ὥς ἔφασαν, ἀδάμαντι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀπέλιπε καὶ κατεβίωσεν ἀπορούμενος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τὸν δ' ἴδιον βίον καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔσχε παράδειγμα τοῖς καυχωμένοις ἀφρόνως
3 ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων τετρακοσίας[1] τριήρεις μετ' ὀλίγον ἐν μικρῷ στρογγύλῳ πλοίῳ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, περίβλεπτον ἔχων τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς ὑπερβολήν.

4 Τιμολέων δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν Νῆσον καὶ φρούρια τὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πρότερον ὑπακούοντα τὰς κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον[2] ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα κατέσκαψε, τοῖς δὲ φρουρίοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
5 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ νομογραφεῖν ἤρξατο, τιθεὶς δημοκρατικοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συμ-

[1] *τετρακοσίας*] *τριακοσίας* PX.
[2] *τὴν Νῆσον* Rhodoman; *τὰς νήσους* PXR; *τῆς νήσου* Fischer.

---

[1] This operation continued earlier movements of Philip in Thessaly (chaps. 35. 1; 38. 1; 52. 9). For Philip's relations with the tyrants of Pherae cp. H. D. Westlake, *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.* (1935), 191-193; Marta Sordi, *La Lega Tessala fino al Alessandro Magno* (1958), 275-293.

sociated themselves with the decision of the Thessalians and became his enthusiastic allies.[1] 344/3 B.C.

70. When Pythodotus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Plautius and Titus Manlius.[2] In this year[3] Timoleon frightened the tyrant Dionysius into surrendering the citadel, resigning his office and retiring under a safe-conduct to the Peloponnese, but retaining his private possessions. Thus, through cowardice and meanness, he lost that celebrated tyranny which had been, as people said, bound with fetters of steel,[4] and spent the remaining years of his life in poverty at Corinth, furnishing in his life and misfortune an example to all who vaunt themselves unwisely on their successes. He who had possessed four hundred triremes[5] arrived shortly after in Corinth in a small tub of a freighter,[6] conspicuously displaying the enormity of the change in his fortunes. 343/2 B.C.

Timoleon took over the Island and the forts which had formerly belonged to Dionysius. He razed the citadel and the tyrant's palace on the Island, and restored the independence of the fortified towns. Straightway he set to work on a new code of laws, converting the city into a democracy, and specified

[2] Pythodotus was archon at Athens from July 343 to June 342 B.C. C. Plautius Venno and T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus were the consuls of 347 B.C. (Broughton, 1. 130).
[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 13. 2-5.
[4] This was an oft-quoted metaphor credited to the elder Dionysius; cp. above, chap. 5. 4; Plutarch, *Dion*, 7. 3 and 10. 3.
[5] The same figure in chap. 9. 2; Plutarch, *Dion*, 14. 2. Nepos, *Dion*, 5. 3, mentions five hundred.
[6] This term is traceable to Theopompus (Polybius, 12. 4a. 2; Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 115, F 341), where Timaeus used *ναῦς*.

βολαίων δίκαια καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς διέταξε.
6 πλείστην φροντίδα τῆς ἰσότητος ποιούμενος. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐντιμοτάτην ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀμφιπολίαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καλοῦσιν Συρακόσιοι· καὶ ἡρέθη πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης Ἀλκάδα[1] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας ἡ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχὴ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμείνασα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

71. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Φίλιππος τὰς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εἰς εὔνοιαν προσκαλεσόμενος[2] ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην. Κερσοβλέπτης γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν διετέλει τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ[3] πόλεις ὁμορούσας τῇ Θρᾴκῃ καταστρεφό-
2 μενος καὶ τὴν χώραν καταφθείρων. βουλόμενος οὖν ἐμφράξαι τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς σὺν πολλῇ δυνάμει. νικήσας δὲ πλείοσι μάχαις τοὺς Θρᾷκας τοῖς μὲν καταπολεμηθεῖσι βαρβάροις προσέταξε δεκάτας τελεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τόποις κτίσας

[1] Fischer corrects to the common name Alcidas, perhaps rightly; Alcadas seems to be otherwise unknown.
[2] Dindorf corrected to προκαλεσόμενος, which is the usual expression, but cp. *SIG*³, 748. 47.
[3] Ἑλισπόντου PX.

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 22. 1-2; Nepos, *Timoleon*, 3. 3.

in exact detail the law of contracts and all such matters, paying special attention to equality.[1] He instituted also the annual office that is held in highest honour, which the Syracusans call the "amphipoly" of Zeus Olympius.[2] To this, the first priest elected was Callimenes, the son of Alcadas, and henceforth the Syracusans continued to designate the years by these officials down to the time of my writing this history and of the change in their form of government. For when the Romans shared their citizenship with the Greeks of Sicily, the office of these priests became insignificant, after having been important for over three hundred years.[3] 343/2 B.C.

Such was the condition of affairs in Sicily.

71. In Macedonia, Philip conceived a plan to win over the Greek cities in Thrace to his side, and marched into that region.[4] Cersobleptes, who was the king of the Thracians, had been following a policy of reducing the Hellespontine cities bordering on his territory and of ravaging their territories. With the aim of putting a stop to the barbarian attacks Philip moved against them with a large force. He overcame the Thracians in several battles and imposed on the conquered barbarians the payment of a tithe to the Macedonians, and by founding strong cities at key

[2] This priesthood is not mentioned by Plutarch, and may be a personal observation of Diodorus himself.
[3] This humbling of the amphipolate probably consisted in making it no longer eponymous; instead of a local priesthood, the Syracusans thereafter dated by the Roman consuls. The reference may be to the grant of *jus Latii* to the Sicilians by Caesar (by 44 B.C.: Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 14. 12. 1), or to later grants by Augustus (A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1939), 175).
[4] Continued from chap. 69. Justin's account (9. 1. 1) of these operations is drawn from a source hostile to Philip.

ἀξιολόγους πόλεις ἔπαυσε τοῦ θράσους τοὺς Θρᾷκας. διόπερ αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἀπολυθεῖσαι τῶν φόβων εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου προθυμότατα κατετάχθησαν.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστορίᾳ κατέταξε τρεῖς βύβλους περιεχούσας Σικελικὰς πράξεις· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τυραννίδος διῆλθε χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ κατέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔκπτωσιν Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ βύβλοι τρεῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἄχρι τῆς τρίτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς.

72. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Σωσιγένους Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον καὶ Μάρκον Γναῖον Πόπλιον.[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρύμβας[2] ὁ τῶν Μολοττῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη δέκα, ἀπολιπὼν υἱὸν τὸν Πύρρου πατέρα Αἰακίδην· τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀλυμπιάδος, συνεργήσαντος Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Τιμολέων μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λεοντίνους· εἰς ταύτην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν Ἱκέτας κατεπεφεύγει μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιολόγου. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον προσέβαλε τῇ Νέᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλει· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκεκλεισμένων καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμυνομένων ἄπρακτος γενόμενος ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

[1] So PXQ; other MSS. omit Γναῖον.
[2] Ἀρύμβας] Ἀρύββας X.

---

[1] Similar references to literary figures are a recurring feature of Diodorus's narrative (E. Schwartz, *Real-Encyclo-*

places made it impossible for the Thracians to commit any outrages in the future. So the Greek cities were freed from this fear and gladly joined Philip's alliance. 343/2 B.C.

Theopompus of Chios, the historian, in his *History of Philip*, included three books dealing with affairs in Sicily.[1] Beginning with the tyranny of Dionysius the Elder he covered a period of fifty years, closing with the expulsion of the younger Dionysius. These three books are XLI-XLIII.

72. When Sosigenes was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius and Marcus Gnaeus Publius.[2] In this year, Arymbas king of the Molossians died after a rule of ten years,[3] leaving a son Aeacides, Pyrrhus's father, but Alexander the brother of Olympias succeeded to the throne with the backing of Philip of Macedon. 342/1 B.C.

In Sicily, Timoleon made an expedition against Leontini, for this was the city where Hicetas had taken refuge with a substantial army.[4] He launched an assault on the part called Neapolis, but since the soldiers in the city were numerous and had an advantage in fighting from the walls, he accomplished nothing and broke off the siege. Passing on to the

pädie, 5 (1905), 668 f.). Cp. also chap. 76. 5-6 below. These are usually, although not always, historians, and we must suppose that Diodorus was familiar with their writings. To what extent they are to be taken as his specific sources is unknown. Diodorus referred to the beginning of Theopompus's *Philippica* above, chap. 3. 8.

[2] Sosigenes was archon at Athens from July 342 to June 341 B.C. The consuls of 346 B.C. were M. Valerius Corvus and C. Poetelius Libo Visolus (Broughton, 1. 131).

[3] His accession is not mentioned by Diodorus under the year 351/0 B.C. Alexander's accession is otherwise known from Demosthenes, 7. 32.

[4] Continued from chap. 70. Cp. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 24. 1-2.

3 παρελθὼν δὲ πρὸς πόλιν Ἔγγυον, τυραννουμένην ὑπὸ Λεπτίνου, προσβολὰς συνεχεῖς ἐποιεῖτο βουλόμενος τὸν μὲν Λεπτίνην ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
4 τοῖς δ' Ἐγγυΐνοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοῦναι. περὶ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ὄντος Ἱκέτας πανδημεὶ στρατεύσας ἐκ τῶν Λεοντίνων ἐπολιόρκει τὰς Συρακούσσας, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπο-
5 βαλὼν ταχέως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους. ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων καταπληξάμενος τὸν Λεπτίνην τοῦτον μὲν ὑπόσπονδον ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰς τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων τυράννων ἐκπτώσεις.

Οὔσης δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ τὸν Λεπτίνην παραλαβὼν τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἐγγυΐνων ἀπέδωκε τὴν αὐτονομίαν.

73. Ἀπορούμενος δὲ χρημάτων εἰς τὰς τῶν ξένων μισθοδοσίας ἐξαπέστειλε στρατιώτας χιλίους μετὰ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἡγεμόνων εἰς τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν. οὗτοι δὲ πολλὴν χώραν πορθήσαντες καὶ λαφύρων πλῆθος κομίσαντες παρέδωκαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι. ὁ δὲ λαφυροπωλήσας τὴν λείαν καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας ἔδωκε τοῖς
2 μισθοφόροις εἰς πλείω χρόνον τοὺς μισθούς. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἐντέλλης καὶ τοὺς τὰ Καρχηδονίων μάλιστα φρονοῦντας πεντεκαίδεκα θανατώσας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπένειμε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. τοῦ δὲ Τιμολέοντος αὐξομένου τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δόξῃ αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἅπασαι προθύμως ὑπετάγησαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι διὰ τὸ πάσαις τὰς αὐτονομίας ἀποδιδόναι, τῶν δὲ Σικελῶν καὶ Σικανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τεταγμένων

city Engyum, which was controlled by the tyrant Leptines,[1] he assailed it with repeated attacks in the hope of expelling Leptines and restoring to the city its freedom. Taking advantage of his preoccupation, Hicetas led out his entire force and attempted to lay siege to Syracuse, but lost many of his men and hastily retreated back to Leontini. Leptines was frightened into submission, and Timoleon shipped him off to the Peloponnese under a safe-conduct, giving the Greeks tangible evidence of the results of his programme of defeating and expelling tyrants. 342/1 B.C.

The city of Apollonia had also been under Leptines. On taking it, Timoleon restored its autonomy as well as that of the city of Engyum.

73. Lacking funds to pay his mercenaries, he sent a thousand men with his best officers into the part of Sicily ruled by the Carthaginians.[2] They pillaged a large area, and, carrying off a large amount of plunder, delivered it to Timoleon. Selling this and realizing a large sum of money, he paid his mercenaries for a long term of service. He took Entella also and, after putting to death the fifteen persons who were the strongest supporters of the Carthaginians, restored the rest to independence. As his strength and military reputation grew, all the Greek cities in Sicily began to submit themselves voluntarily to him, thanks to his policy of restoring to all their autonomy. Many too of the cities of the Sicels and the Sicanians and the rest who were subject to

[1] Probably the Leptines mentioned in chap. 45. 9, and probably the nephew of the elder Dionysius (T. Lenschau, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 12 (1925), 2073).
[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 24. 4 ; 25. 2.

πολλαὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πόλεις, σπεύδουσαι παρα-
ληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν.
3 Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν στρατη-
γοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀγεννῶς τὸν πόλεμον διοικοῦντας ἔκρι-
ναν ἑτέρους ἀποστέλλειν μετὰ δυνάμεων μεγάλων.
εὐθὺς οὖν τῶν πολιτῶν κατέλεγον τοὺς ἀρίστους
εἰς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τῶν Λιβύων τοὺς εὐθέτους
ἐστρατολόγουν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων προχειρισάμε-
νοι χρημάτων πλῆθος μισθοφόρους ἐξενολόγουν
Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Λίγυας· ἐναυπηγοῦντο δὲ
καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς καὶ φορτηγοὺς πολλὰς ἤθροιζον
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον ἐποιοῦντο.
74. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Νικομάχου Ῥω-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Μάρκιον καὶ Τί-
τον Μάλλιον Τορκουᾶτον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φωκίων
μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος κατεπολέμησε Κλείταρχον τὸν Ἐρε-
2 τρίας τύραννον καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. κατὰ
δὲ τὴν Καρίαν Πιζώδαρος[1] ὁ νεώτερος τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας Ἄδαν καὶ ἐδυνά-
στευσεν ἔτη πέντε ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
Φίλιππος δὲ ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Πέ-
ρινθον ἐστράτευσεν, ἐναντιουμένην μὲν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς
δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἀποκλίνουσαν. συστησάμενος δὲ
πολιορκίαν καὶ μηχανὰς προσάγων τῇ πόλει καθ' ἡ-
3 μέραν ἐκ διαδοχῆς προσέβαλλεν τοῖς τείχεσιν. ὀγ-

[1] Πιζώδαρος PX, Πηξώδωρος R, Πηξόδορος F; Πιξώδαρος in Arrian, 1. 23. 7; Strabo, 14. 2. 17; Head, *Historia Nummorum*², 630 (Fischer); Πιξόδαρος Plutarch, *Alexander*, 10. 1-2.

---

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 1.
[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 27. 3.

the Carthaginians approached him through embas- 342/1 B.C.
sies in a desire to be included in his alliance.

The Carthaginians recognized that their generals in Sicily were conducting the war in a spiritless manner and decided to send out new ones, together with heavy reinforcements.[1] Straightway they made a levy for the campaign from among their noblest citizens [2] and made suitable drafts among the Libyans. Furthermore, appropriating a large sum of money, they enlisted mercenaries from among the Iberians, Celts, and Ligurians.[3] They were occupied also with the construction of battleships. They assembled many freighters and manufactured other supplies in enormous quantities.

74. When Nicomachus was archon at Athens, the 341/0 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Gaius Marcius and Titus Manlius Torquatus.[4] In this year, Phocion the Athenian defeated and expelled Cleitarchus, the tyrant of Eretria who had been installed by Philip. In Caria, Pizodarus,[5] the younger of the brothers, ousted Ada from her rule as dynast and held sway for five years until Alexander's crossing over into Asia.

Philip, whose fortunes were constantly on the increase, made an expedition against Perinthus, which had resisted him and inclined toward the Athenians.[6] He instituted a siege and advancing engines to the city assailed the walls in relays day after day. He

[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 28. 6, mentions Libyans, Iberians, and Numidians.
[4] Nicomachus was archon at Athens from July 341 to June 340 B.C. The consuls of 344 B.C. were C. Marcius Rutilius and T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus (Broughton, 1. 132).
[5] Above, chap. 69. 2.
[6] These events in Philip's career are barely noticed by Justin, 9. 1. 2-5, and only casual references to them occur elsewhere.

δοηκονταπήχεις δὲ πύργους κατασκευάσας, ὑπεραίροντας πολὺ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πέρινθον πύργων, ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς κατεπόνει τοὺς πολιορκουμένους· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν κριῶν σαλεύων τὰ τείχη καὶ διὰ τῆς μεταλλείας ὑπορύττων ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τὸ τεῖχος[1] κατέβαλεν. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων εὐρώστως καὶ ταχὺ τεῖχος ἕτερον ἀντοικοδομησάντων ἀγῶνες θαυμαστοὶ καὶ τειχομαχίαι συνίσταντο.

4 μεγάλης δὲ φιλοτιμίας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων συνισταμένης ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ παντοδαποὺς ὀξυβελεῖς διὰ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων διαγωνιζομένους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ Περίνθιοι πολλοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποβάλλοντες συμμαχίαν καὶ βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας παρὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων προσελάβοντο.

5 ἐξισωθέντες οὖν πάλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνεθάρρησαν καὶ τετολμηκότως τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνους ὑπέμενον. οὐ μὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔληγε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ διελόμενος τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς πλείω μέρη συνεχῶς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐτειχομάχει καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. τρισμυρίους δ' ἔχων στρατιώτας καὶ βελῶν καὶ μηχανῶν πολιορκητικῶν πλῆθος, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς[2] ἀνυπερβλήτους κατεπόνει τοὺς πολιορκουμένους.

75. Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας πολυχρονίου γινομένης καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρουμένων, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ τραυματιζομένων, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ἐκλειπόντων προσδόκιμος ἦν ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἅλωσις. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχη γε περιεῖδε τὴν τῶν κινδυνευόντων σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ παράδοξον αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε βοήθειαν. τῆς γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐξήσεως διαβεβοημένης κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφορώμενος τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου δύναμιν ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ

built towers eighty cubits high, which far overtopped the towers of Perinthus, and from a superior height kept wearing down the besieged. He rocked the walls with battering rams and undermined them with saps, and cast down a long stretch of the wall. The Perinthians fought stoutly in their own defence and quickly threw up a second wall; many admirable feats were performed in the open and on the fortifications. Both sides displayed great determination. The king, for his part, rained destruction with numerous and varied catapults upon the men fighting steadfastly along the battlements, while the Perinthians, although their daily losses were heavy, received reinforcements of men, missiles, and artillery from Byzantium. When they had again become a match for the enemy, they took courage and resolutely bore the brunt of battle for their homeland. Still the king persevered in his determination. He divided his forces into several divisions and with frequent reliefs kept up a continuous attack on the walls both day and night. He had thirty thousand men and a store of missiles and siege engines besides other machines in plenty, and kept up a steady pressure against the besieged people. 341/0 B.C.

75. So the siege dragged on. The numbers mounted of dead and wounded in the city and provisions were running short. The capture of the city was imminent. Fortune, however, did not neglect the safety of those in danger but brought them an unexpected deliverance. Philip's growth in power had been reported in Asia, and the Persian king, viewing this power with alarm, wrote to his satraps on the

---

[1] τὸ τεῖχος Fischer (cp. chap. 49. 1): τοῦ τείχους.
[2] παρασκευὰς Fischer (cp. chaps. 73. 3; 78. 5).

θαλάττῃ σατράπας βοηθεῖν Περινθίοις παντὶ σθένει.
2 διόπερ οἱ σατράπαι συμφρονήσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον μισθοφόρων πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα δαψιλῆ καὶ σῖτον ἱκανὸν καὶ βέλη καὶ τἄλλα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐξαπέστειλαν. ἐφαμίλλων δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων γενομένων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καινοποιηθέντος πάλιν ἡ πολιορκία φιλο-
3 τιμίαν ἐλάμβανεν ἀνυπέρβλητον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φίλιππος τοῖς κριοῖς τύπτων τὰ τείχη συνεχῶς κατέβαλλε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀξυβελῶν ἀνείργων τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἅμα μὲν διὰ τῶν πεπτωκότων τειχῶν ἀθρόως[1] τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσέπιπτεν, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων πρὸς τὰ γεγυμνωμένα τῶν τειχῶν προσέβαινε· διὸ καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκ χειρὸς οὔσης οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον οἱ δὲ τραύμασι πολλοῖς περιέπιπτον. τὰ δὲ τῆς νίκης ἔπαθλα προεκαλεῖτο
4 τὰς τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀνδραγαθίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μακεδόνες ἐλπίζοντες εὐδαίμονα πόλιν διαρπάσειν καὶ δωρεαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου τιμηθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς ἐλπίδα τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐνεκαρτέρουν, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τὰ τῆς ἁλώσεως δεινὰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες ὑπέμενον εὐψύχως τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας κίνδυνον.

76. Συνεβάλλετο δὲ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἡ φύσις τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων νίκην.[2] ἡ γὰρ Πέρινθος κεῖται μὲν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπί τινος αὐχένος ὑψηλοῦ[3] χερρονήσου σταδιαῖον ἐχούσης τὸν αὐχένα, τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἔχει πεπυκνωμένας
2 καὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι διαφερούσας. αὗται δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδο-

coast to give all possible assistance to the Perinthians. 341/0 B.C.
They consequently took counsel and sent off to Perinthus a force of mercenaries, ample funds, and sufficient stocks of food, missiles, and other materials required for operations.

Similarly the people of Byzantium also sent them their best officers and soldiers. So the armies were again well matched, and as the fighting was resumed, the siege was waged with supreme determination. Philip constantly battered the walls with his rams, making breaches in them, and as his catapults cleared the battlements of defenders, he would at the same moment drive through the breached walls with his soldiers in close formation and assail with scaling ladders the portions of the walls which he had cleared. Then hand-to-hand combat ensued and some were slain outright, others fell under many wounds. The rewards of victory challenged the daring of the contestants, for the Macedonians hoped to have a wealthy city to sack and to be rewarded by Philip with gifts, the hope of profit steeling them against danger, while the Perinthians had before their eyes the horrors of capture and sustained with great courage the battle for their deliverance.

76. The natural setting of the city greatly aided the besieged Perinthians towards a decisive victory. It lies by the sea on a sort of high peninsula with an isthmus one furlong across, and its houses are packed close together and very high. In their construction

[1] Poppo suggested ἀθρόοις.
[2] νίκην] φιλονεικίαν Fischer (cp. Books 13. 60. 1; 14. 12. 2); Dindorf omits ὑπὲρ.
[3] ἐπί τινος ὑψηλῆς Sherman. Fischer suggests ἀναστήματος for αὐχένος, which he believes arose from the following αὐχένα.

μαῖς αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν λόφον ἀνάβασιν ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχουσι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὅλης πόλεως θεατροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι. διόπερ τῶν τειχῶν συνεχῶς καταβαλλομένων οὐδὲν ἡλαττοῦντο· διοικοδομοῦντες γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς ταῖς αἰεὶ κατωτάταις
3 οἰκίαις ὥσπερ ὀχυροῖς τισι τείχεσιν ἐχρῶντο. διόπερ ὁ Φίλιππος μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων τοῦ τείχους κρατήσας ἰσχυρότερον εὕρισκε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διὰ τῶν οἰκιῶν αὐτομάτως ἡτοιμασμένον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου πάντων τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων ἑτοίμως χορηγουμένων ἐμέρισε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς δύο μέρη καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐπιστήσας αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἡγεμόνας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς προσέπεσεν ἄφνω τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἰσχυρὰν συνεστήσατο.
4 οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων παρὰ τοῖς Περινθίοις ὄντων εἰς πολλὴν ἐνέπιπτον ἀμηχανίαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Περινθίους καὶ Βυζαντίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

5 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἔφορος μὲν ὁ Κυμαῖος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνθάδε κατέστροφεν εἰς τὴν Περίνθου πολιορκίαν· περιείληφε δὲ τῇ γραφῇ πράξεις τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου· χρόνον δὲ περιέλαβε ἐτῶν σχεδὸν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ βύ-

[1] The sieges were given under the year 340/39 B.C. by Philochorus (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 328, T 54); they may well have extended over more than one archon year.

along the slope of the hill they overtop one another 341/0 B.C. and thus give the city the general aspect of a theatre. In spite of the constant breaches in the fortifications, consequently, the Perinthians were not defeated, for they blocked up the alley-ways and utilized the lowest tier of houses each time as though it were a wall of defence. When Philip with much labour and hard fighting mastered the city wall, he found that the houses afforded a stronger one, ready made by Fortune. Since, in addition, the city's every need was promptly met by supplies coming to Perinthus from Byzantium, he split his forces in two, and leaving one division under his best officers to continue the operations before Perinthus, marched himself with the other and, making a sudden attack on Byzantium, enclosed that city also in a tight siege. Since their men and weapons and war equipment were all at Perinthus, the people of Byzantium found themselves seriously embarrassed.

Such was the situation at Perinthus and Byzantium.[1]

Ephorus of Cymê, the historian, closed his history at this point with the siege of Perinthus, having included in his work the deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians from the time of the return of the Heracleidae. He covered a period of almost seven hundred and fifty years,[2] writing thirty books and

[2] Diodorus nowhere mentions the beginning of Ephorus's history, perhaps because it began as far back as his own. In chap. 14. 3 he referred to its continuation by his son Demophilus. According to Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, 1. 139. 4), Ephorus reckoned 735 years between the Return of the Heracleidae and the archonship of Evaenetus, 335/4 B.C. On that basis, B. ten Brinck (*Philologus*, 6 (1851), 589) suggested correcting " fifty " here to " thirty."

βλους γέγραφε τριάκοντα, προοίμιον ἑκάστῃ προθείς.
6 Δίυλλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῆς δευτέρας συντάξεως ἀρ-
χὴν πεποίηται τῆς Ἐφόρου ἱστορίας τὴν τελευτὴν
καὶ τὰς ἑξῆς πράξεις συνείρει τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς.

77. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεοφράστου Ῥω-
μαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Μάρκον Οὐα-
λέριον καὶ Αὖλον Κορνήλιον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη
δεκάτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον
2 Ἀντικλῆς Ἀθηναῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φιλίππου
Βυζάντιον πολιορκοῦντος Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἔκριναν τὸν
Φίλιππον λελυκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συντεθεῖσαν
εἰρήνην· εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν ἀξιόλογον
ἐξέπεμψαν βοηθήσουσαν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις. ὁμοίως
δὲ τούτοις Χῖοι καὶ Κῷοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καί τινες
ἕτεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίαν ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς
3 Βυζαντίοις. διόπερ ὁ Φίλιππος καταπλαγεὶς τῇ
συνδρομῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τήν τε πολιορκίαν τῶν
πόλεων ἔλυσε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-
λους Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους συνέθετο τὴν
εἰρήνην.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν μεγάλας
παρασκευὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πεποιημένοι διεβί-
βασαν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. εἶχον δὲ

---

[1] His history was referred to above, chap. 14. 5.

[2] That is, Philip the son of Cassander, who died in 297/6 B.C.

[3] Theophrastus was archon at Athens from July 340 to June 339 B.C. The Olympic Games were celebrated in midsummer of 340 B.C. Broughton (1. 132) lists the consuls of

prefacing each with an introduction. Diyllus[1] the 341/0 B.C.
Athenian began the second section of his history with the close of Ephorus's and made a connected narrative of the history of Greeks and barbarians from that point to the death of Philip.[2]

77. When Theophrastus was archon at Athens, the 340/39 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius and Aulus Cornelius, and the one hundred and tenth Olympiad was celebrated, in which Anticles the Athenian won the foot-race.[3] In this year, seeing that Philip was besieging Byzantium, the Athenians voted that he had broken his treaty with them and promptly dispatched a formidable fleet to aid that city. Besides them, the Chians, Coans, Rhodians, and some others of the Greeks sent reinforcements also. Philip was frightened by this joint action, broke off the siege of the two cities, and made a treaty of peace with the Athenians and the other Greeks who opposed him.[4]

In the west, the Carthaginians prepared great stores of war materials and transported their forces to Sicily.[5] They had all told, including the forces

---

343 B.C. as M. Valerius Corvus and A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

[4] This account of Diodorus differs from the presumably correct one given elsewhere, going back over Philochorus to Theopompus (in Didymus: Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 115, F 292). Byzantium was assisted by Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, her old allies in the Social War, as well as by the Persians. The Athenian fleet under Chares arrived only to ensure the safe passage of the grain fleet from the Black Sea. Philip's capture of this fleet was a major factor in Athens' decision to abrogate the peace treaty; the result was war, not peace. Cp. Demosthenes, 18 (*De Corona*) 87-94; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 14.

[5] Continued from chap. 73. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 1, gives the same figures, but fails to mention the cavalry and the chariots.

τοὺς πάντας[1] σὺν τοῖς προϋπάρχουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ καὶ ἅρματα καὶ συνωρίδας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς μὲν διακοσίας,[2] φορτηγοὺς δὲ τὰς τοὺς ἵππους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ σῖτον καὶ τἄλλα
5 κομιζούσας πλείους τῶν χιλίων. Τιμολέων δὲ πυθόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως οὐ κατεπλάγη τοὺς βαρβάρους, καίπερ εἰς ὀλίγους στρατιώτας συνεσταλμένος. ἔχων δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς Ἱκέταν διελύσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς μετὰ τούτου στρατιώτας οὐ μετρίως ηὔξησε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν.

78. Ἔδοξε δ' αὐτῷ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἀγῶνα συστήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν, ὅπως τὴν μὲν τῶν συμμάχων χώραν ἀσινῆ διαφυλάξῃ τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὖσαν
2 καταφθείρῃ. εὐθὺς οὖν τούς τε μισθοφόρους καὶ Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους ἀθροίσας καὶ κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν παρώρμησε τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις τὰ πλήθη πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ[3] τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνα· πάντων δ' ἀποδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους καὶ βοώντων ἄγειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους προῆγεν ἔχων τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐ πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων.

3 Ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνην ὄντος παραδόξως ἐνέπεσε τῇ στρατιᾷ ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις. τῶν γὰρ μισθοφόρων τις ὄνομα Θρασίος, σεσυληκὼς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν μετὰ τῶν Φωκέων, ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ καὶ θράσει διαφέρων, ἀκόλουθον τοῖς πρότερον τε-

[1] *τοὺς πάντας* PX, *σύμπαντας cet.*
[2] *διακοσίας*] *ἑβδομήκοντα* PX, but see Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 1.

previously on the island, more than seventy thousand infantry; cavalry, war-chariots, and extra teams of horses amounting to not less than ten thousand; two hundred battleships; and more than a thousand freighters carrying the horses, weapons, food and everything else. Timoleon was not daunted, however, although he learned the size of the hostile force while he himself was reduced to a handful of soldiers. He was still at war with Hicetas, but came to terms with him and took over his troops, thus materially increasing his own army.[1] 340/39 B.C.

78. He decided to commence the struggle with the Carthaginians in their own territory so as to keep intact the land of his allies while wasting that which was subject to the barbarians. He assembled his mercenaries immediately, together with the Syracusans and his allies, called a general assembly, and encouraged his audience with appropriate words to face the decisive struggle. When all applauded and shouted, urging him to lead them immediately against the barbarians, he took the field with not more than twelve thousand men in all.[2]

He had reached the territory of Agrigentum when unexpected confusion and discord broke out in his army. One of his mercenaries named Thrasius, who had been with the Phocians when they plundered the shrine at Delphi and was remarkable for his mad recklessness, now perpetrated an act that matched

[1] Plutarch does not mention the support furnished Timoleon by Hicetas at this time.
[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 2-3, states that there were 3000 Syracusans and 4000 mercenaries, of whom 1000 deserted before the battle; the remainder were 5000 foot and 1000 horse.

[3] *ὑπὲρ* added by Reiske (cp. chap. 76. 1).

4 τολμημένοις πρᾶξιν ἐπετελέσατο. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον παρανομίας τετευχότων ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας, καθάπερ μικρῷ πρότερον ἀνεγράψαμεν, μόνος οὗτος διαλεληθὼς τὸ θεῖον ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς μισθοφόρους παρορμᾶν πρὸς
5 ἀπόστασιν. ἔφη γὰρ τὸν Τιμολέοντα παραφρονοῦντα πρὸς ὁμολογουμένην ἀπώλειαν ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἑξαπλασίους γὰρ ὄντας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ πάσαις ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἀνυπερβλήτους ὑπάρχοντας ἐπαγγέλλεται νικήσειν, ἐναποκυβεύων ταῖς τῶν μισθοφόρων ψυχαῖς, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀφειλομένους μισθοὺς πολλοῦ χρόνου διὰ τὴν ἀπο-
6 ρίαν ἀποδεδωκώς. συνεβούλευεν οὖν ἀνακάμπτειν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατείαν ἀπεγνωσμένην μὴ συνακολουθεῖν.

79. Τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἀσμένως τοὺς λόγους δεχομένων καὶ νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρούντων μόγις πολλὰ δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ Τιμολέων[1] καὶ δωρεὰς ἐπαγγελλόμενος κατέπαυσε τὴν ταραχήν. ὅμως δὲ τῷ Θρασίῳ χιλίων συνακολουθησάντων τὴν μὲν τούτων κόλασιν εἰς ἕτερον ἀνεβάλετο καιρόν, γράψας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Συρακούσσαις φίλους προσδέξασθαι τούτους φιλοφρόνως καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀποδοῦναι τὴν μὲν ταραχὴν πᾶσαν εἰς τέλος κατέσβεσε, τῶν δ' ἀπειθησάντων ἀφείλατο τὴν ἐκ τῆς
2 νίκης εὐδοξίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ταῖς φιλανθρώποις ἐντεύξεσιν εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὔνοιαν ἀποκαταστήσας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μακρὰν στρατοπεδεύοντας. συναγαγὼν δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων θάρσος παραστήσας τοῖς πλήθεσι διῆλθε μὲν τὴν

his former outrages. While almost all the rest who 340/39 B.C.
had participated in the sacrilege against the oracle had received from the deity their due punishment, as we reported a little earlier,[1] he who alone had eluded divine vengeance attempted to incite the mercenaries to desert. He said that Timoleon was out of his mind and was leading his men to certain destruction. The Carthaginians were six times their number and were immeasurably superior in every sort of equipment, but Timoleon was nevertheless promising that they would win, gambling with the lives of the mercenaries whom for a long time because of lack of funds he had not even been able to pay. Thrasius recommended that they should return to Syracuse and demand their pay, and not follow Timoleon any further on a hopeless campaign.

79. The mercenaries received his speech with enthusiasm and were on the point of mutiny, but Timoleon with some difficulty quieted the disturbance by urgent pleading and the offer of gifts. Even so, a thousand men did go off with Thrasius,[2] but he put off their punishment till a later time, and by writing to his friends in Syracuse to receive them kindly and to pay them their arrears he brought the unrest to an end, but also stripped the disobedient men of all credit for the victory. With the rest, whose loyalty he had regained by tactful handling, he marched against the enemy who were encamped not far away. Calling an assembly of the troops, he encouraged them with an address, describing the

[1] Chap. 58. 6.
[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 3-4.

---

[1] ὁ Τιμολέων added by Rhodoman.

τῶν Φοινίκων ἀνανδρίαν ὑπέμνησε δὲ τῆς Γέλωνος
εὐημερίας.
3 Πάντων δὲ καθάπερ τινὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ βοώντων ἐπι-
θέσθαι τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης,
κατὰ τύχην ὑποζυγίων σέλινα κομιζόντων εἰς τὰς
στιβάδας ὁ Τιμολέων ἔφη δέχεσθαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τῆς
νίκης· τὸν γὰρ Ἰσθμιακὸν στέφανον ἐκ σελίνου
4 συνίστασθαι. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται παραγγείλαντος
τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἐκ τῶν σελίνων πλέξαντες στεφά-
νους καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιθέντες προῆγον μετὰ
χαρᾶς ὡς τῶν θεῶν προσημαινόντων αὐτοῖς τὴν
5 νίκην· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι· περιεγένοντο γὰρ
ἀνελπίστως τῶν πολεμίων οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἰδίας
ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν συνεργίαν.
Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τιμολέων ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν κατέ-
βαινεν ἀπό τινων λόφων ἐπὶ τὸν Κρίμισον[1] ποταμὸν
καὶ μυρίων ἤδη διαβεβηκότων ἐξ ἐφόδου τούτοις
ἐπέρραξε, τεταγμένος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς φάλαγ-
6 γος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς καὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ὑπερεχόντων ταῖς τε ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς
εὐχειρίαις πολὺς ἐγίνετο φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων. ἤδη
δὲ φευγόντων τῶν διαβεβηκότων ἡ πᾶσα δύναμις
τῶν Καρχηδονίων περαιωθεῖσα τὸ ῥεῖθρον διωρθώ-
σατο τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἧτταν.

[1] MSS. omit. Κρίμισον supplied from Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 4 (Κρίμησον) with the spelling common elsewhere.

---

[1] That is, at the battle of Himera, 480 B.C. Polybius reproaches Timaeus for placing in the mouth of Timoleon derogatory remarks concerning the Carthaginians, but not advancing proof that Timoleon did not actually speak in this way (12. 26a; Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 566, F 31).

cowardice of the Phoenicians and recalling the success 340/39 B.C.
of Gelon.[1]

Just at the moment when all as with one voice were clamouring to attack the barbarians and to begin the battle, it chanced that pack animals came carrying wild celery[2] for their bedding, and Timoleon declared that he accepted the omen of his victory, for the crown at the Isthmian games is woven of this. On his suggestion, the soldiers plaited crowns out of celery and with their heads wreathed advanced cheerfully in the confidence that the gods foretold their victory. And that, as a matter of fact, is how it was, for unpredictably, incredible to tell, they got the better of the enemy not only through their own valour but also through the gods' specific assistance.

Timoleon deployed his forces and advanced down from a line of little hills to the river Crimisus,[3] where ten thousand of the enemy had already crossed. These he shattered at the first onset, taking his own position in the centre of his line.[4] There was a sharp fight, but as the Greeks were superior both in bravery and in skill, there was great slaughter of the barbarians. The rest began to flee, but the main body of the Carthaginians crossed the river in the mean time and restored the situation.

[2] This was the *apium graveolens* which is also frequently called parsley. It is fragrant (cp. Olck, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 6 (1909), 255 f.). This anecdote was told by Timaeus (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 566, F 118) and appears in Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 26.

[3] The river is variously spelled Crimesus (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25. 4) and Crimissus (Nepos, *Timoleon*, 2. 4).

[4] The story of the battle is told more circumstantially in Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 27-29. The time was just before the summer solstice of 339 B.C. (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 27. 1).

80. Καινοποιηθείσης δὲ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν Φοινίκων τῷ πλήθει περιχεομένων[1] τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄφνω πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὄμβρος κατερράγη καὶ χαλάζης εὐμεγέθους πλῆθος, ἀστραπαί τε καὶ βρονταὶ μετὰ πνευμάτων μεγάλων κατέσκηπτον· καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων θυελλοφορουμένων τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι κατὰ νώτου, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα τὸ σύμπτωμα ῥᾳδίως ὑπέμενον, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως φέρειν ἀδυνατοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπικειμένων, πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.

2 Πάντων δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τρεπομένων, ἀναμὶξ ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἅμα τούτοις φυρομένων οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συμπατούμενοι καὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων ξίφεσι καὶ λόγχαις περιπειρόμενοι τὴν συμφορὰν ἔσχον ἀβοήθητον, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππέων εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῖθρον ἀγεληδὸν συνελαυνόμενοι καὶ κατὰ
3 νώτου τὰς πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀπέθνησκον. πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνευ πολεμίας πληγῆς διεφθείροντο σωρευομένων τῶν σωμάτων διά τε τὸν φόβον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ ῥείθρῳ δυσχερείας. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, λάβρων γεγενημένων τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ ποταμὸς βιαιοτέρῳ τῷ ῥεύματι καταφερόμενος πολλοὺς ἐβάπτιζε καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων διανηχομένους διέφθειρε.

4 Τέλος δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων οἱ μὲν τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον ἀναπληροῦντες καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ταῖς δ' ἀρεταῖς καὶ δόξαις ἔτι δὲ ταῖς οὐσίαις πρωτεύοντες ἅπαντες ἀγωνισά-
5 μενοι λαμπρῶς κατεκόπησαν. τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευομένων αὐτοῖς ἀπέθανον πλείους τῶν μυ-

80. As the battle was renewed, the Phoenicians 340/39 B.C. were overwhelming the Greeks with their superior numbers when, suddenly, from the heavens sheets of rain broke and a storm of great hailstones, while lightning flashed and thunder roared and the wind blew in fierce gusts. All of this tempest buffeted the backs of the Greeks but struck the faces of the barbarians, so that, though Timoleon's soldiers were not much inconvenienced by the affair, the Phoenicians could not stand the force of circumstances, and as the Greeks continued to attack them, they broke into flight.

As all sought the river together—horse and foot intermingled, while the chariots added to the confusion—some perished helplessly trodden under foot or pierced by the swords or lances of their comrades, while others were herded by Timoleon's cavalry into the bed of the river and were struck down from behind. Many died without an enemy's stroke as the bodies piled up in the panic. There was crowding and it was difficult to keep one's feet in the stream. Worst of all, as the rain came down heavily, the river swept downstream as a raging torrent and carried the men with it, drowning them as they struggled to swim in their heavy armour.

In the end, even the Carthaginians who composed the Sacred Battalion,[1] twenty-five hundred in number and drawn from the ranks of those citizens who were distinguished for valour and reputation as well as for wealth, were all cut down after a gallant struggle. In the other elements of their army, more than ten

[1] This unit is mentioned again by Diodorus in another connection, Book 20. 10. 6.

[1] So Wesseling: περιεχομένων.

ρίων, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων. τῶν δὲ ἁρμάτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συνετρίβη κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα, διακόσια δ' ἥλω· τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἁμαξῶν ὑποχείρια τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο.
6 τῶν δ' ὅπλων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διεφθάρη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος σκηνὴν χίλιοι μὲν θώρακες ἀσπίδες δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἀπηνέχθησαν. τούτων δ' ὕστερον τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐν Συρακούσσαις ναοῖς ἀνετέθη, τὰ δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις διεμερίσθη, τινὰ δ' εἰς Κόρινθον Τιμολέων ἀπέστειλε προστάξας εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἀναθεῖναι.

81. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ[1] χρημάτων καταληφθέντων διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐσχηκέναι πλῆθος ἐκπωμάτων ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χρυσῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ὑπερβάλλοντα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐπορίας ἅπαντα συνεχώρησε τοῖς στρατιώ-
2 ταις ἔχειν ἔπαθλα τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων οἱ διαφυγόντες τὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κίνδυνον μόγις εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον διεσώθησαν. τοσαύτη δ' αὐτοὺς κατάπληξις καὶ δέος κατεῖχεν ὥστε μὴ τολμᾶν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβαίνειν μηδ' ἀποπλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀλλοτριότητα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ πελάγους καταποθησομένους.

3 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸ μέγεθος πυθόμενοι τῆς συμφορᾶς συνετρίβησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ συντόμως ὑπελάμβανον ἥξειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Τιμολέοντα μετὰ

[1] So Fischer: καὶ in MSS. before τοὺς Καρχ.

thousand soldiers were killed and no less than fifteen thousand were taken captive.[1] Most of the chariots were destroyed in the battle but two hundred were taken. The baggage train, with the draught animals and most of the wagons, fell into the hands of the Greeks. Most of the armour was lost in the river, but a thousand breastplates and more than ten thousand shields were brought to the tent of Timoleon. Of these, some were dedicated later in the temples at Syracuse, some were distributed among the allies, and some were sent home by Timoleon to Corinth with instructions to dedicate them in the temple of Poseidon.[2] 40/39 B.C.

81. The battle yielded a great store of wealth also, because the Carthaginians had with them an abundance of silver and gold drinking vessels; these, as well as the rest of the personal property which was very numerous because of the wealth of the Carthaginians, Timoleon allowed the soldiers to keep as rewards for their gallantry.[3] For their part, the Carthaginians who escaped from the battle made their way with difficulty to safety at Lilybaeum. Such consternation and terror possessed them that they did not dare embark in their ships and sail to Libya, persuaded that they would be swallowed up by the Libyan Sea because their gods had forsaken them.

In Carthage itself, when news of the extent of the disaster had come, all were crushed in spirit and took it for granted that Timoleon would come against

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 28. 5-6, gives the number of dead as 10,000, including 3000 Carthaginians.
[2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 29.
[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 30. 1, states only that Timoleon allowed his mercenaries to plunder the territory of the Carthaginians (cp. chap. 73.1).

τῆς δυνάμεως. εὐθὺ δὲ Γέσκωνα τὸν Ἄννωνος πεφυγαδευμένον κατήγαγον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τόλμῃ τε καὶ στρατηγίᾳ διαφέρειν.
4 αὐτοὶ δ' ἔκριναν πολιτικοῖς μὲν σώμασι μὴ διακινδυνεύειν, μισθοφόρους δὲ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀθροίζειν καὶ μάλιστα Ἕλληνας· ὑπακούσεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν πολλοὺς ὑπελάμβανον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μισθοφορᾶς[1] καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς Καρχηδόνος. εἰς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς εὐθέτους πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν, προστάξαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ᾖ δυνατὸν συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

82. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Λυσιμαχίδης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι καθειστήκεισαν Κόιντος Σερουίλιος καὶ Μάρκος Ῥουτίλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Τιμολέων ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Συρακούσσας πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐγκαταλιπόντας αὐτὸν[2] μισθοφόρους τοὺς μετὰ Θρασίου πάντας ἐκ
2 τῆς πόλεως ὡς προδότας ὄντας ἐξέβαλεν. οὗτοι δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαβάντες καὶ χωρίον τι παραθαλάττιον ἐν τῇ Βρεττίᾳ καταλαβόμενοι διήρπασαν. οἱ δὲ Βρέττιοι παροξυνθέντες εὐθὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν καταλιπόντες τὸν Τιμολέοντα μισθοφόροι τῆς ἰδίας παρανομίας ἐπάθλου[3] τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς ἔτυχον.

3 Ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων Ποστόμιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν δώδεκα λῃστρίσι τοὺς πλέοντας λῃζόμενον καὶ καταπλεύ-

[1] μισθοφορᾶς editors: συμφορᾶς.
[2] αὐτὸν added by Fischer.

them directly with his army. They wasted no time in recalling from exile Gisco[1] the son of Hanno and appointing him general, for they thought that he best combined the qualities of boldness and military skill. They voted not to risk the lives of citizens in the future but to enlist foreign mercenaries, especially Greeks[2] who, they thought, would answer the call in large numbers because of the high rate of pay and the wealth of Carthage; and they sent skilled envoys to Sicily with instructions to make peace on whatever terms proved possible. 340/39 B.C.

82. At the end of this year, Lysimachides became archon at Athens, and in Rome there were elected as consuls Quintus Servilius and Marcus Rutilius.[3] In this year, Timoleon returned to Syracuse and promptly expelled from the city as traitors all the mercenaries who had abandoned him under the leadership of Thrasius. These crossed over into Italy, and coming upon a coastal town in Bruttium, sacked it. The Bruttians, incensed, immediately marched against them with a large army, stormed the place, and shot them all down with javelins.[4] Those who had abandoned Timoleon were rewarded by such misfortune for their own wickedness. 339/8 B.C.

Timoleon himself seized and put to death Postumius the Etruscan,[5] who had been raiding sea traffic

[1] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 30. 3. [2] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 30. 3.
[3] Lysimachides was archon at Athens from July 339 to June 338 B.C. The consuls of 342 B.C. were Q. Servilius Ahala and C. Marcius Rutilus (Broughton, 1. 133).
[4] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 30. 1-2. Another group of the impious mercenaries is mentioned also in 30. 4.
[5] This story does not appear in Plutarch.

[3] ἐπάθλου Wesseling: ἔπαθλον. Fischer inserts λαβόντες after ἔπαθλον.

σαντα εἰς Συρακούσσας ὡς φίλον συλλαβὼν ἐθανάτωσεν. ὑπεδέξατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἐκπεμφθέντας οἰκήτορας φιλοφρόνως, ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντακισχιλίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Καρχηδονίων διαπρεσβευσαμένων καὶ πολλὰ δεηθέντων συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ὥστε τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἁπάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Λύκον καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὅριον εἶναι τῆς ἑκατέρων ἐπικρατείας· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ Καρχηδονίοις βοηθῆσαι τοῖς τυράννοις τοῖς πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Συρακοσίους.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν μὲν Ἱκέταν καταπολεμήσας ἐθανάτωσε,[1] τοὺς δ' ἐν Αἴτνῃ Καμπανοὺς ἐκπολιορκήσας διέφθειρε. καὶ Νικόδημον μὲν τὸν Κεντοριπίνων τύραννον καταπληξάμενος ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀπολλωνιάδην δὲ τὸν Ἀγυριναίων δυνάστην παύσας τῆς τυραννίδος τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας Συρακοσίους ἐποίησε. καθόλου δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τυράννους ῥιζοτομήσας[2] καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθερώσας εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσεδέξατο.
5 κηρύξαντος δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διότι Συρακόσιοι διδόασι χώραν καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς ἐν Συρακούσσαις πολιτείας πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν κληρουχίαν Ἕλληνες ἀπήντησαν· τέλος δὲ οἰκήτορες ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς μὲν τὴν Συρακοσίαν

[1] ἐθανάτωσε Reiske: ἔθαψε. [2] So Herwerden: ῥιζολογήσας.

[1] "Freedom" in Greek political terminology did not exclude the possibility of an overlord, Carthage or Syracuse. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 34. 1, does not mention this feature of the treaty.

[2] Diodorus usually calls this river Halycus (Books 15. 17. 5; 23. 9. 5; 24. 1. 8).

with twelve corsairs, and had put in at Syracuse as a friendly city. He received the new settlers sent out by the Corinthians kindly, to the number of five thousand. Then, when the Carthaginians sent envoys and pleaded with him urgently, he granted them peace on the terms that all the Greek cities should be free,[1] that the river Lycus [2] should be the boundary of their respective territories, and that the Carthaginians might not give aid to the tyrants who were at war with Syracuse. 339/8 B.C.

After this, he concluded his war with Hicetas and put him to death,[3] and then attacked the Campanians in Aetna and wiped them out.[4] Likewise he overbore Nicodemus, tyrant of Centuripae, and ousted him from that city; and putting an end to the tyranny of Apolloniades in Agyrium [5] he gave Syracusan citizenship to its freed inhabitants. In a word, all of the tyrants throughout the island were uprooted and the cities were set free and taken into his alliance. He made proclamation in Greece that the Syracusans would give land and houses to those who wished to come and share in their state, and many Greeks came to receive their allotments.[6] Ultimately forty thousand settlers were assigned to

[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 31. 2–32. 1. Since Timoleon had just accepted the aid of Hicetas against the Carthaginians (chap. 77. 5), this change of policy suggests some duplicity on his part (Westlake, *Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants*, 15 f.).

[4] This is not mentioned by Plutarch.

[5] This was Diodorus's own native city.

[6] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 22. 3-5; 23 (where the invitation was issued when Timoleon first became master of Syracuse); 35. According to the historian Athanis, quoted by Plutarch (*Timoleon*, 23. 4; Jacoby, *Fragm. der gr. Hist.* no. 562, F 2), there were 60,000 who came. Cp. further Book 19. 2. 8.

τὴν ἀδιαίρετον[1] τετρακισμύριοι, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀγυριναίαν μύριοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τῆς χώρας.

6 Εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας νόμους ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις, οὓς συνέγραψε Διοκλῆς, διώρθωσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν[2] συμβολαίων ἢ κληρονομιῶν εἴασεν ἀμεταθέτους, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν δημοσίων νενομοθετημένους πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ὥς ποτ' ἐδόκει συμφέρειν διώρθωσεν.

7 ἐπιστάτης δ' ἦν καὶ διορθωτὴς τῆς νομοθεσίας Κέφαλος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἀνὴρ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ συνέσει δεδοξασμένος. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος τοὺς μὲν Λεοντίνους εἰς Συρακούσσας μετῴκισεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Καμαριναίαν οἰκήτορας προσθεὶς ἐπηύξεσε τὴν πόλιν.

83. Καθόλου δὲ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν εἰρηνικῶς καταστήσας ἐποίησε τὰς πόλεις ταχὺ λαβεῖν πολλὴν αὔξησιν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ἐκ πολλοῦ γὰρ χρόνου διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ἔτι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπανισταμένων αἰεὶ τυράννων αἱ μὲν πόλεις ἔρημοι τῶν οἰκητόρων ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ χῶραι διὰ τὴν ἀργίαν ἐξηγρίωντο καὶ καρπῶν ἡμέρων ἄφοροι[3] καθειστήκεισαν· τότε δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων οἰκητόρων καὶ διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον ἐπιγεγενημένην εἰρήνην ἐξημερώθησαν ταῖς ἐργασίαις καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἐξήνεγκαν καρπούς. τούτους δ' οἱ Σικελιῶται λυσιτελῶς πιπράσκοντες τοῖς ἐμπόροις ταχὺ προσανέδραμον ταῖς οὐσίαις.

2 Τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τούτων εὐπορίαν πολλὰ

[1] See *SIG*³, 141. 10 *ἀδιαιρέτου sc. χώρας*.
[2] *ἰδιωτικῶν* Wesseling, cp. chap. 70. 5: *ἰδιωτῶν* PXR, *ἰδίων* F.
[3] So Stephanus: *ἄποροι*.

the vacant land of Syracuse and ten thousand to that of Agyrium, because of its extent and quality. 339/8 B.C.

At this time, also, Timoleon revised the existing laws of Syracuse, which Diocles had composed.[1] Those concerning private contracts and inheritance he allowed to remain unaltered, but he amended those concerned with public affairs in whatever way seemed advantageous to his own concept. Chairman and director of this legislative programme was Cephalus the Corinthian, a man distinguished for education and intelligence. When his hands were free of this matter, Timoleon transferred the people of Leontini to Syracuse, but sent additional settlers to Camarina and enlarged the city.

83. So, having established peaceful conditions everywhere throughout Sicily, he caused the cities to experience a vast growth of prosperity.[2] For many years, because of domestic troubles and border wars, and still more because of the numbers of tyrants who kept constantly appearing, the cities had become destitute of inhabitants and the open country had become a wilderness for lack of cultivation, producing no useful crops. But now new settlers streamed into the land in great numbers, and as a long period of peace set in, the fields were reclaimed for cultivation and bore abundant crops of all sorts. These the Siceliot Greeks sold to merchants at good prices and rapidly increased their wealth.

It was by reason of the funds so acquired that many

[1] Cp. Book 13. 33 and 35.
[2] Nepos, *Timoleon*, 3. 1-2. These observations are probably Diodorus's own, based on his personal experience and knowledge. Note the reference to his city, Agyrium, in chap. 83. 3. *Kokalos*, 4 (1958) is devoted exclusively to articles concerned with the effect of Timoleon on Sicily.

καὶ μεγάλα κατεσκευάσθη κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀναθήματα, ἐν μὲν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις ὁ κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον οἶκος ὁ ἑξηκοντάκλινος ὀνομαζόμενος, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔργων ὑπεραίρων τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ, ὃν κατεσκεύασε μὲν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ δυνάστης, διὰ δὲ τὸ βάρος τῶν ἔργων ὑπεραίρων τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ναοὺς ἐπισημασίας ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου κεραυνωθείς, οἵ τε παρὰ τὸν μικρὸν λιμένα πύργοι, τὰς μὲν ἐπιγραφὰς ἔχοντες ἐξ ἑτερογενῶν λίθων, σημαίνοντες[1] δὲ τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος αὐτοὺς προσηγορίαν Ἀγαθοκλέους, ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος τοῦ βασιλέως τό τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ὁ πλησίον τοῦ θεάτρου βωμός, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ὢν σταδίου, τὸ δ' ὕψος καὶ πλάτος ἔχων τούτῳ κατὰ λόγον.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐλάττοσι πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἡ τῶν Ἀγυριναίων καταριθμεῖται, μετασχοῦσα τῆς τότε κληρουχίας διὰ τὴν προειρημένην ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν εὐπορίαν, θέατρον μὲν κατεσκεύασε μετὰ τὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων κάλλιστον τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν, θεῶν τε ναοὺς καὶ βουλευτήριον καὶ ἀγοράν, ἔτι δὲ πύργων ἀξιολόγους κατασκευὰς καὶ τάφους[2] πυραμίδων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων διαφόρων ταῖς φιλοτεχνίαις.

84. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Χαρώνδου τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Πλώτιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς φιλίαν προηγμένος

[1] So MSS.: *σημαινούσας* Fischer.
[2] ⟨*κατὰ*⟩ *τάφους* Madvig.

---

[1] This was a large banqueting hall. Cp. the tent of one

large constructions were completed in that period. 339/8 B.C.
There was, first, the structure in Syracuse on the Island called the "Hall of the Sixty Couches," which surpassed all the other buildings of Sicily in size and grandeur.[1] This was built by Agathocles the despot, and since, in its pretentiousness, it went beyond the temples of the gods, so it received a mark of Heaven's displeasure in being struck by lightning. Then there were the towers along the shore of the Little Harbour with their mosaic inscriptions of varicoloured stones, proclaiming the name of their founder, Agathocles. Comparable to these but a little later, in the time of Hiero the king, there was built the Olympieium in the market and the altar beside the theatre, a stade in length and proportionally high and broad.[2]

Among the lesser cities is to be reckoned Agyrium, but since it shared in the increase of settlers due to this agricultural prosperity, it built the finest theatre in Sicily after that of Syracuse, together with temples of the gods, a council chamber, and a market. There were also memorable towers, as well as pyramidal monuments of architectural distinction marking graves, many and great.

84. When Charondes was archon at Athens, Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Plautius succeeded to the consulship.[3] In this year, Philip the king, having won most of the Greeks over to friendship with him, was 338/7 B.C.

hundred couches employed by Alexander the Great (Book 17. 16. 4).

[2] These monuments are mentioned by Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2. 4. 53.

[3] Chaerondes was archon at Athens from July 338 to June 337 B.C. The consuls of 341 B.C. were L. Aemilius Mamercinus Privernas and C. Plautius Venno (Broughton, 1. 134).

ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταπληξάμε-
2 νος ἀδήριτον ἔχειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. δι-
όπερ ἄφνω καταλαβόμενος Ἐλάτειαν πόλιν καὶ τὰς
δυνάμεις εἰς ταύτην ἀθροίσας διέγνω πολεμεῖν
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ἀπαρασκεύων δ' ὄντων αὐτῶν
διὰ τὴν συντεθειμένην εἰρήνην ἤλπιζε ῥᾳδίως περι-
ποιήσεσθαι τὴν νίκην· ὅπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη. κατα-
ληφθείσης γὰρ τῆς Ἐλατείας ἧκόν τινες νυκτὸς
ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ διότι
ταχέως ἥξει Φίλιππος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν
3 Ἀττικήν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ
τὸ παράδοξον τῆς πράξεως καταπλαγέντες τούς τε
σαλπικτὰς μετεπέμποντο καὶ σημαίνειν προσέταττον δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός.

Τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν διαδοθείσης ἡ μὲν
πόλις ὀρθὴ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἦν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἅπας ἅμ'
ἡμέρᾳ συνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον πρὸ τοῦ συγ-
4 καλέσαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὡς ἦν ἔθος. ὡς δ' ἧκον οἱ
στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὸν μηνύσαντα παρῆγον κἀκεῖνος
εἶπεν, σιωπὴ μὲν καὶ φόβος κατεῖχε τὸ θέατρον καὶ
τῶν εἰωθότων δημηγορεῖν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα συμβου-
λεῦσαι· πλεονάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος καλέσαντος τοὺς
ἐροῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας οὐδεὶς παρῄει
5 σύμβουλος. ἀπορίας οὖν μεγάλης οὔσης καὶ κατα-
πλήξεως ἀπέβλεπε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην.
ὁ δὲ καταβὰς[1] καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρακαλέσας θαρρεῖν
ἀπεφαίνετο δεῖν παραχρῆμα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλειν

[1] So codd.; ὁ δ' ἀναβὰς Wesseling.

[1] Continued from chap. 77. 3. These events are briefly noted in Justin, 9. 3.

[2] This is consistent with Diodorus's statement in chap. 77.

ambitious to gain the uncontested leadership of Greece by terrifying the Athenians into submission.[1] Therefore he suddenly seized the city of Elateia, concentrated his forces there and adopted a policy of war with Athens. He expected to have no trouble in defeating them, since their reliance on the existing peace treaty[2] made them unprepared for hostilities; and that is how it worked out. For after Elateia had been occupied, persons came at night to Athens reporting the occupation and stating that Philip would march immediately into Attica with his army.[3] Taken aback by this unexpected development, the Athenian generals summoned the trumpeters and ordered them to keep blowing the alarm signal the whole night through. 338/7 B.C.

The news spread into every household and the city was tense with terror, and at dawn the whole people flocked to the theatre even before the archons had made their customary proclamation. When the generals came and introduced the messenger and he had told his story, silence and terror gripped the assembly and none of the usual speakers dared propose a course of action. Again and again the herald called for someone to speak for the common safety, but no one came forward with a proposal. In utter perplexity and dismay, the crowd kept their eyes on Demosthenes. Finally he came down from his seat, and bidding the people take heart gave it as his opinion that they must straightway send envoys to Thebes

3, that peace was concluded on the abandonment of the siege of Byzantium. Actually, the situation seems to have been just the reverse: Athens denounced the Peace of Philocrates at that time.

[3] This narrative follows and must ultimately derive from Demosthenes, 18 (*De Corona*) 169-178.

εἰς τὰς Θήβας καὶ παρακαλεῖν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς κοινῇ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους ὁ καιρὸς οὐ συνεχώρει πέμπειν πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας· ἐν ἡμέραις γὰρ δυσὶ προσδόκιμος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥξειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας οὔσης διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἡ παρὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν συμμαχία μόνη κατελείπετο, φανεροῦ γ'[1] ὄντος ὅτι Φίλιππος, φίλος ὢν καὶ σύμμαχος Βοιωτοῖς, τούτους ἐν παρόδῳ πειράσεται παραλαβεῖν εἰς τὸν κατ' Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον.

85. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἀποδεξαμένου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους γραφέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐζήτει τὸν δυνατώτατον εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπήκουσε προθύμως πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. τέλος δ' ὀξέως πρεσβεύσας καὶ πείσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῇ τῶν Βοιωτῶν συμμαχίᾳ διπλασιάσας τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν δύναμιν ἀνεθάρρησε
2 ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὺς κατέστησε τοὺς περὶ Χάρητα καὶ Λυσικλέα καὶ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. τῶν δὲ νέων ἁπάντων προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καταντώντων οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁδοιπορήσαντες ἧκον εἰς Χαιρώνειαν τῆς Βοιωτίας· οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ θαυμάσαντες τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρουσίας καὶ αὐτοὶ σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντες ἀπήντησαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ κοινῇ στρατοπεδεύσαντες ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
3 ἔφοδον. Φίλιππος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις, ὧν ἦν ἐπι-

[1] γ' editors: δ'.

and invite the Boeotians to join them to make a struggle for freedom. There was no time to send envoys to their other allies [1] invoking the treaties of alliance, since in two days the king could be expected to enter Attica. As his way led through Boeotia, the support of the Boeotians was their only recourse, especially since Philip was at that time the friend and ally of the Boeotians and would evidently try to take them along as he marched past to the war against Athens. 338/7 B.C.

85. When the people accepted the proposal and the decree authorizing the embassy had been drafted by Demosthenes, they turned to the search for their most eloquent representative. Demosthenes willingly answered the call to service. He carried out the mission vigorously and returned to Athens at last having secured the adhesion of the Thebans.

Now that they had doubled their existing armed forces by the Boeotian alliance, the Athenians recovered their confidence. At once they designated Chares and Lysicles as generals and sent forth their entire army under arms into Boeotia. All their youth reported eager for battle and advanced with forced marches as far as Chaeroneia in Boeotia. Impressed by the promptness of the Athenian arrival and themselves no less ready to act decisively, the Boeotians joined them with their weapons and, brigaded together, all awaited the approach of the enemy. Philip's first move was to send envoys to the Boeotian

[1] These are listed by Demosthenes (*De Corona*, 237) as Euboea, Achaia, Corinth, Megara, Leucas, and Corcyra. Aeschines (*In Ctesiphontem*, 97) mentions Acarnania also.

φανέστατος Πύθων. οὗτος γὰρ διαβεβοημένος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ συγκριθεὶς παρὰ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς κατὰ τὴν περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας δημηγορίαν πρὸς Δημοσθένην τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπρώτευσεν, τού-
4 του δὲ ἐφάνη καταδεέστερος. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης δὲ αὐτὸς ὡς μέγα τι κατειργασμένος ἐν τοῖς συγγεγραμμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοις σεμνύνεται τῇ πρὸς τὸν ῥήτορα τοῦτον δημηγορίᾳ ἐν οἷς λέγει, Τότ' ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Φίλιππος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν συμμαχίας οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔκρινε πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους διαγωνίσασθαι· διὸ καὶ προσαναμείνας τοὺς ἀφυστεροῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν τρισμυ-
6 ρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν δισχιλίων. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων τοῖς μὲν φρονήμασι καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ἐφάμιλλοι καθειστήκεισαν, τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀρετῇ προεῖχεν
7 ὁ βασιλεύς. πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ ποικίλας παρατάξεις ἠγωνισμένος καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις μάχαις νενικηκὼς μεγάλην εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ μὲν ἀγαθώτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐτετελευτήκεισαν, Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας, ἔτι δὲ Τιμόθεος, τῶν δ' ὑπολελειμμένων Χάρης πρωτεύων οὐδὲν διέφερε τῶν τυχόντων ἰδιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν ἐνέργειαν καὶ βουλήν.

[1] The famous orator, a native of Byzantium, had long been

League, the most eminent of whom was Pytho.[1] He was celebrated for his eloquence, but judged by the Boeotians in this contest for their allegiance against Demosthenes, he surpassed all the other speakers, to be sure, but was clearly inferior to him. And Demosthenes himself in his speeches parades his success against this orator as a great accomplishment, where he says : " I did not then give ground before Pytho in spite of his confidence and his torrent of words against you." [2] 338/7 B.C.

So Philip failed to get the support of the Boeotians, but nevertheless decided to fight both of the allies together. He waited for the last of his laggard confederates to arrive, and then marched into Boeotia. His forces came to more than thirty thousand infantry and no less than two thousand cavalry. Both sides were on edge for the battle, high-spirited and eager, and were well matched in courage, but the king had the advantage in numbers and in generalship. He had fought many battles of different sorts and had been victorious in most cases, so that he had a wide experience in military operations. On the Athenian side, the best of their generals were dead—Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheüs too—and the best of those who were left, Chares, was no better than any average soldier in the energy and discretion required of a commander.[3]

in the service of Philip. Strabo (9. 2. 37) states that the Corinthians also sent troops.

[2] Demosthenes (*De Corona*, 136) refers to an earlier encounter between the two, which took place in Athens in 343 B.C. ; cp. also *De Halonneso*, 20.

[3] Diodorus writes disparagingly of Chares also in Book 15. 95. 3. Here he has much compressed the narrative, since ten or eleven months elapsed between the occupation of Elateia and the battle of Chaeroneia.

86. Ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκταττομένων ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀντίπαιδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα, διάδηλον δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς ἐνεργείας ἔχοντα, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ θάτερον τῶν κεράτων, παρακαταστήσας αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχε τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρους καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος τάξεις οἰκείως
2 τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς διεκόσμησεν. οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ᾽ ἔθνος τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς τάξεως ποιησάμενοι τοῖς μὲν Βοιωτοῖς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος παρέδωκαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις μέχρι μέν τινος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀμφιδοξουμένας εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης.
3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοτιμουμένου τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ συναγωνιζομένων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πρῶτος τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τάξεως ἔρρηξε καὶ πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν κατεπόνει
4 τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτὸν τεταγμένους. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν αὐτῷ ποιησάντων τὸ συνεχὲς αἰεὶ τῆς τάξεως παρερρήγνυτο. πολλῶν δὲ σωρευομένων νεκρῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πρῶτοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς προκινδυνεύων καὶ τῆς νίκης τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ παραχωρῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξέωσε τῇ βίᾳ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους,

[1] According to Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19. 5, this was the 9th of Metageitnion, the second month of the Attic year, which

86. The armies deployed [1] at dawn, and the king stationed his son Alexander, young in age but noted for his valour and swiftness of action, on one wing, placing beside him his most seasoned generals, while he himself at the head of picked men exercised the command over the other; individual units were stationed where the occasion required.[2] On the other side, dividing the line according to nationality, the Athenians assigned one wing to the Boeotians and kept command of the other themselves. Once joined, the battle was hotly contested for a long time and many fell on both sides, so that for a while the struggle permitted hopes of victory to both. 338/7 B.C.

Then Alexander, his heart set on showing his father his prowess and yielding to none in will to win, ably seconded by his men, first succeeded in rupturing the solid front of the enemy line and striking down many he bore heavily on the troops opposite him. As the same success was won by his companions, gaps in the front were constantly opened. Corpses piled up, until finally Alexander forced his way through the line and put his opponents to flight. Then the king also in person advanced, well in front and not conceding credit for the victory even to Alexander; he first forced back the troops stationed

began after the summer solstice; so perhaps 4th August, since a new moon was visible at Athens on 27th July.

[2] Diodorus's account of the battle is vague, and much is uncertain in the reconstruction of events from scattered and partial references. It seems certain that Philip, on the Macedonian right, did not engage the Athenians until the Thebans, on the allied right, had been shattered by Alexander. Since, in his later battles, Alexander normally commanded the cavalry guard on his own right, Philip here must have occupied the traditional position of the Macedonian king. But Diodorus does not say who these " picked men " were.

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ φεύγειν συναναγκάσας αἴτιος ἐγένετο
5 τῆς νίκης. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἥλωσαν δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους
6 τῶν δισχιλίων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Φίλιππος τρόπαιον στήσας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς ταφὴν συγχωρήσας ἐπινίκια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐτίμησεν.

87. Λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τὸν πότον πολὺν ἐμφορησάμενος ἄκρατον καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἄγων κῶμον διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐβάδιζεν ὑβρίζων διὰ λόγων τὰς τῶν ἀκληρούντων δυστυχίας. Δημάδην δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὄντα χρήσασθαι παρρησίᾳ καὶ λόγον ἀποφθέγξασθαι δυνάμενον ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσέλγειαν.
2 φασὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, Βασιλεῦ, τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσωπον Ἀγαμέμνονος αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ πράττων ἔργα Θερσίτου; τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον τῇ τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως εὐστοχίᾳ κινηθέντα τοσοῦτο μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ὅλην διάθεσιν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν στεφάνους ἀπορρῖψαι, τὰ δὲ συνακολουθοῦντα κατὰ τὸν κῶμον σύμβολα τῆς ὕβρεως ἀποτρίψασθαι, τὸν δ' ἄνδρα τὸν χρησάμενον τῇ παρρησίᾳ θαυμάσαι

[1] Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 20. 3, tells of Philip's revelling and reciting the beginning of the decree introduced by his

before him and then by compelling them to flee became the man responsible for the victory. More than a thousand Athenians fell in the battle and no less than two thousand were captured. Likewise, many of the Boeotians were killed and not a few taken prisoners. After the battle Philip raised a trophy of victory, yielded the dead for burial, gave sacrifices to the gods for victory, and rewarded according to their deserts those of his men who had distinguished themselves. 338/7 B.C.

87. The story is told that in the drinking after dinner Philip downed a large amount of unmixed wine and forming with his friends a comus in celebration of the victory paraded through the midst of his captives, jeering all the time at the misfortunes of the luckless men.[1] Now Demades, the orator, who was then one of the captives, spoke out boldly [2] and made a remark able to curb the king's disgusting exhibition. He is said to have remarked: "O King, when Fortune has cast you in the rôle of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act the part of Thersites?" Stung by this well-aimed shaft of rebuke, Philip altered his whole demeanour completely. He cast off his garland, brushed aside the symbols of pride that marked the comus, expressed admiration for the man who dared to speak so plainly, freed him from

rival as if it were verse:

> "Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes,
> Paeanian, thus proposeth."

Justin (9. 5. 1), in constrast, speaks of Philip as bearing his victory modestly. Cp. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 715 c. See Addenda.

[2] Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii Tyanensis*, 7. 2) names Diogenes of Sinopê as the hero of this anecdote. Demades (*Duod. Ann.* 9-10) gives his own report of these events.

καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
3 ἀναλαβεῖν ἐντίμως. τέλος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημάδου καθομιληθέντα ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι πάντας ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων, καθόλου δ' ἀποθέμενον τὴν ἐκ τῆς νίκης ὑπερηφανίαν πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ συνθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν, εἰς δὲ τὰς Θήβας φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσαντα συγχωρῆσαι τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς.

88. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν Λυσικλέους μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν Λυκούργου τοῦ ῥήτορος κατηγορήσαντος. οὗτος γὰρ τῶν τότε ῥητόρων μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δώδεκα μὲν ἔτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοικήσας ἐπαινουμένως βίον δ' ἐζηκὼς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ περιβόητον πικρό-
2 τατος ἦν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις[1] κατήγορος. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀξίαν καὶ πικρίαν ἐν οἷς τοῦ Λυσικλέους κατηγορῶν λέγει, Ἐστρατήγεις, ὦ Λύσικλες, καὶ χιλίων μὲν πολιτῶν τετελευτηκότων, δισχιλίων δ' αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότων, τροπαίου δὲ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἑστηκότος, τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης δουλευούσης, καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων γεγενημένων σοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ στρατηγοῦντος τολμᾷς ζῆν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ὑπόμνημα γεγονὼς αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀνείδους τῇ πατρίδι.

3 Ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους χρόνους. καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ἡ περὶ τὴν Χαιρώνειαν ἐγένετο μάχη, ἑτέρα παράταξις συν-

[1] ἐν τοῖς λόγοις deleted by Dindorf (cp. *infra*, § 2).

captivity and gave him a place in his own company 338/7 B.C.
with every mark of honour. Addressed by Demades with Attic charm, he ended by releasing all of the Athenian prisoners without ransom and, altogether abandoning the arrogance of victory, sent envoys to the people of Athens and concluded with them a treaty of friendship and alliance. With the Boeotian she concluded peace but maintained a garrison in Thebes.

88. After this defeat, the Athenians condemned to death the general Lysicles on the accusation of Lycurgus, the orator. Lycurgus had the highest repute of the politicians of his time, and since he had won praise for his conduct of the city's finances over a period of twelve[1] years and lived in general a life renowned for rectitude, he proved to be a very stern prosecutor. One can judge of his character and austerity in the passage in his accusation where he says: "You were general, Lysicles. A thousand citizens have perished and two thousand were taken captive. A trophy stands over your city's defeat, and all of Greece is enslaved. All of this happened under your leadership and command, and yet you dare to live and to look on the sun and even to intrude into the market, a living monument of our country's shame and disgrace."

There was an odd coincidence in the period under review. At the same time as the battle took place at Chaeroneia, another battle occurred in Italy on the

[1] Diodorus has got ahead of himself. Lycurgus's service as finance minister belongs to the years 338/7–327/6 B.C. (Kunst, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 13 (1927), 2448 f.). He was, however, almost fifty years old at this time, and so a mature statesman.

ἔστη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ
διαπολεμούντων μὲν Ταραντίνων πρὸς Λευκανοὺς
συναγωνιζομένου δὲ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις Ἀρχιδάμου
τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, ὅτε συνέβη καὶ αὐτὸν
4 ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἦρξε
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη εἴκοσι τρία, τὴν δὲ βα-
σιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ υἱὸς Ἆγις ἦρξεν ἔτη ἐννέα.
5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τιμόθεος ὁ τῆς
Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ τύραννος ἐτελεύτησε
δυναστεύσας ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα, τὴν δὲ τυραννίδα
διαδεξάμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Διονύσιος ἦρξεν ἔτη δυσὶ
πλείω τῶν τριάκοντα.

89. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φρυνίχου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Τῖτον Μάλλιον Τορκουᾶτον καὶ Πόπλιον Δέκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς πεφρονηματισμένος τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν νίκῃ καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πόλεις
καταπεπληγμένος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς
2 Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμών. διαδοὺς δὲ λόγον ὅτι βούλεται
πρὸς Πέρσας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεμον ἄρασθαι
καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ
γενομένης παρανομίας ἰδίους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ταῖς
εὐνοίαις ἐποιήσατο· φιλοφρονούμενος δὲ πρὸς ἅπαν-
τας καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπεφαίνετο
βούλεσθαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων.
3 διόπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέν-
τος διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου καὶ
μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ὑποθεὶς προετρέψατο τοὺς συν-

[1] This battle has already been mentioned, chaps. 62. 4–63. 1.

same day and at the same hour between the people of 338/7 B.C.
Tarentum and the Lucanians.[1] In the service of Tarentum was Archidamus, the Lacedaemonian king, and it happened that he was himself killed. He had ruled the Lacedaemonians for twenty-three years; his son Agis succeeded to the throne and ruled for nine years.[2]

At this time, also, Timotheüs the tyrant of Heracleia-Pontica died after having been in power for fifteen years. His brother Dionysius succeeded to the tyranny and ruled for thirty-two years.[3]

89. When Phrynichus was archon at Athens, the 337/6 B.C.
Romans installed as consuls Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius.[4] In this year King Philip, proudly conscious of his victory at Chaeroneia and seeing that he had dashed the confidence of the leading Greek cities, conceived of the ambition to become the leader of all Greece. He spread the word that he wanted to make war on the Persians in the Greeks' behalf and to punish them for the profanation of the temples,[5] and this won for him the loyal support of the Greeks. He showed a kindly face to all in private and in public, and he represented to the cities that he wished to discuss with them matters of common advantage. A general congress was, accordingly, convened at Corinth. He spoke about the war against Persia and by raising great expectations won the

[2] For Archidamus see chap. 63. 2; for Agis, Book 17. 63. 2-4.

[3] See chap. 36. 3 and Book 20. 77. 1.

[4] Phrynichus was archon at Athens from July 337 to June 336 B.C. The consuls of 340 B.C. were T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus and P. Decius Mus (Broughton, 1. 135).

[5] Cp. Books 11. 29. 3 and 17. 72. 6. For the events at Corinth cp. Justin, 9. 5. 1-2.

ἕδρους εἰς πόλεμον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑλομένων αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατείαν. διατάξας δ' ἑκάστῃ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰς συμμαχίαν στρατιωτῶν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

90. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Τιμολέων ὁ Κορίνθιος ἅπαντα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις κατωρθωκὼς ἐτελεύτησε, στρατηγήσας ἔτη ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι μεγάλως ἀποδεδεγμένοι τὸν ἄνδρα διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἀθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἀνηγόρευσεν ὁ Δημήτριος ὃς ἦν μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν τότε κηρύκων[1]· ἐψήφισται[2] ὁ δᾶμος[3] τῶν Συρακοσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμαινέτου Κορίνθιον τόνδε[4] θάπτειν μὲν ἀπὸ διακοσιᾶν μνᾶν,[5] τιμᾶσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγώνεσσι[6] μουσικοῖς καὶ ἱππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπολεμήσας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνοικίσας[7] αἴτιος ἐγενήθη τᾶς[8] ἐλευθερίας τοῖς Σικελιώταις.

2 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ ἕξ, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Μιθριδάτης ἦρξεν ἔτη

[1] *ὁ Δημήτριος . . . κηρύκων* inserted by Cobet, from Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39. 3.
[2] *ἐψήφισται* inserted by Fischer. [3] So P: *δῆμος cet.*
[4] Κορίνθιον *τόνδε* Cobet; Τιμαινέτου *υἱὸν τόνδε* Fischer: *τιμᾶν ἑτούσιον* (*ἐτήσιον* RF) *τοῦτον δὲ.*
[5] *διακοσιᾶν μνᾶν* PX: *διακοσίων μνῶν cet.*
[6] So P: *ἀγώνεσι* X, *ἀγῶσι cet.*

representatives over to war. The Greeks elected him 337/6 B.C.
the general plenipotentiary of Greece, and he began accumulating supplies for the campaign. He prescribed the number of soldiers that each city should send for the joint effort, and then returned to Macedonia.

This was the state of affairs as regards Philip.

90. In Sicily, Timoleon the Corinthian died; he had put in order all the affairs of the Syracusans and the other Siceliot Greeks, and had been their general for eight years.[1] The Syracusans revered him greatly because of his ability and the extent of his services to them and gave him a magnificent funeral. As the body was borne out in the presence of all the people the following decree was proclaimed by that Demetrius who had the most powerful voice of all the criers of his time[2]: "The people of Syracuse have voted to bury this Timoleon son of Timaenetus, of Corinth, at a cost of two hundred minas, and to honour him to the end of time with musical, equestrian, and gymnastic games, because he destroyed the tyrants, defeated the barbarians, and resettled the mightiest of Greek cities, and so became the author of freedom for the Greeks of Sicily."

In this year, also, Ariobarzanes died after ruling for twenty-six years and Mithridates, succeeding him,

[1] Continued from chap. 83.
[2] Nepos, *Timoleon*, 5. 4. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39. 1-3, gives the same text of the decree except at the end, where instead of mentioning freedom, he has: "he restored their laws to the Syracusans." These threefold *agones* were the highest form of "heroic" honours; cp. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (1956), p. 150.

[7] *ἀνοικίσας* Dindorf: *ἐνοικίσας* RF, *οἰκήσας* P, *οἰκίσας* X.
[8] So PX: *τῆς cet.*

πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸς Λατίνους καὶ Καμπανοὺς παραταξάμενοι περὶ πόλιν Σούεσσαν ἐνίκησαν καὶ τῶν ἡττηθέντων μέρος τῆς χώρας ἀφείλοντο. ὁ δὲ κατωρθωκὼς τὴν μάχην Μάλλιος ὁ ὕπατος ἐθριάμβευσεν.

91. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πυθοδώρου Ῥω-
μαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Πόπλιον
καὶ Τιβέριον Αἰμίλιον Μάμερκον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη
πρώτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα
2 στάδιον Κλεόμαντις Κλειτόριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων
Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καθεσταμένος καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐνστη-
σάμενος Ἄτταλον μὲν καὶ Παρμενίωνα προαπέ-
στειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως δοὺς
καὶ προστάξας ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις,
αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδων μὲν μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης
ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηρώτησε τὴν Πυθίαν
εἰ κρατήσει τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν. ἡ δ'
ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν·

ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος σκολιῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ χρη-
σμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον ἐξεδέχετο τὸ λό-
γιον, ὡς τοῦ μαντείου προλέγοντος τὸν Πέρσην
ἱερείου τρόπον τυθήσεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕ-
τως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐσήμαινεν ἐν πανηγύρει

[1] This is the dynasty of Cius in Mysia which later provided the kings of Pontus. Cp. Books 15. 90. 3 and note; 20. 111. 4.

[2] Livy (8. 11. 11) states that the battle took place "inter Sinuessam Minturnasque." For the events see Broughton, 1. 135.

[3] The archon's name was Pythodelus, and his term ran

ruled for thirty-five.[1] The Romans were victorious 337/6 B.C.
in a battle against the Latins and Campanians in the vicinity of Suessa and annexed part of the territory of the vanquished. Manlius, the consul who had won the victory, celebrated a triumph.[2]

91. When Pythodorus was archon at Athens, the 336/5 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Quintus Publius and Tiberius Aemilius Mamercus, and the one hundred and eleventh celebration of the Olympic Games took place, in which Cleomantis of Cleitor won the foot-race.[3] In this year, King Philip, installed as leader by the Greeks, opened the war with Persia by sending into Asia as an advance party Attalus and Parmenion,[4] assigning to them a part of his forces and ordering them to liberate the Greek cities, while he himself, wanting to enter upon the war with the gods' approval, asked the Pythia whether he would conquer the king of the Persians. She gave him the following response:

> "Wreathed is the bull. All is done. There is also
> the one who will smite him." [5]

Now Philip found this response ambiguous but accepted it in a sense favourable to himself, namely that the oracle foretold that the Persian would be slaughtered like a sacrificial victim. Actually, however, it was not so, and it meant that Philip himself in the midst of a festival and holy sacrifices, like the

from July 336 to June 335 B.C. The Olympic Games were held in midsummer, 336. The consuls of 339 B.C. were Ti. Aemilius Mamercinus and Q. Publilius Philo (Broughton, 1. 137).

[4] Continued from chap. 89. For these events cp. Justin, 9. 5. 8-9.

[5] The oracle is cited in the same form by Pausanias, 8. 7. 6.

καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις τὸν Φίλιππον ὥσπερ τὸν ταῦ-
4 ρον ἐστεμμένον σφαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δόξας
συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς θεοὺς περιχαρὴς ἦν ὡς τῆς
Ἀσίας ὑπὸ Μακεδόνας ἐσομένης αἰχμαλώτου.

Εὐθὺς οὖν θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπετέλει τοῖς
θεοῖς καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀλυμ-
πιάδος συνετέλει γάμους καὶ ταύτην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
συνῴκισε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν, ἀδελφῷ δὲ
5 ὄντι γνησίῳ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς τῶν
θεῶν τιμαῖς βουλόμενος ὡς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων μετασχεῖν τῆς εὐωχίας ἀγῶνάς τε μουσικοὺς
μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐποίει καὶ λαμπρὰς ἑστιάσεις τῶν
6 φίλων καὶ ξένων. διόπερ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
μετεπέμπετο τοὺς ἰδιοξένους καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις
παρήγγειλε παραλαμβάνειν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης
γνωρίμων ὡς πλείστους. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο
φιλοφρονεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διὰ[1] τὰς
δεδομένας αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας τιμὰς ταῖς[2]
προσηκούσαις ὁμιλίαις ἀμείβεσθαι.

92. Τέλος δὲ πολλῶν πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν συρρεόντων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ γάμων συντελουμένων ἐν Αἰγέαις τῆς Μακεδονίας οὐ μόνον κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων πόλεων αἱ πλείους, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
2 ἀναγορευομένου δὲ τοῦ στεφάνου τούτου διὰ τοῦ
κήρυκος τὸ τελευταῖον εἶπεν, ἄν τις ἐπιβουλεύσας
Φιλίππῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καταφύγῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,

bull, would be stabbed to death while decked with a garland. In any event, he thought that the gods supported him and was very happy to think that Asia would be made captive under the hands of the Macedonians. 336/5 B.C.

Straightway he set in motion plans for gorgeous sacrifices to the gods joined with the wedding of his daughter Cleopatra, whose mother was Olympias; he had given her in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, Olympias's own brother.[1] He wanted as many Greeks as possible to take part in the festivities in honour of the gods, and so planned brilliant musical contests and lavish banquets for his friends and guests. Out of all Greece he summoned his personal guest-friends and ordered the members of his court to bring along as many as they could of their acquaintances from abroad. He was determined to show himself to the Greeks as an amiable person and to respond to the honours conferred when he was appointed to the supreme command with appropriate entertainment.

92. So great numbers of people flocked together from all directions to the festival, and the games and the marriage were celebrated in Aegae in Macedonia. Not only did individual notables crown him with golden crowns but most of the important cities as well, and among them Athens. As this award was being announced by the herald, he ended with the declaration that if anyone plotted against King Philip and fled to Athens for refuge, he would be delivered

[1] Justin, 9. 6. 1.

[1] The usual idiom does not require this preposition with ἀμείβεσθαι.

[2] ταῖς added by Fischer (cp. Books 5. 73. 3; 17. 81. 2; 18. 8. 5 *et passim*).

παραδόσιμον εἶναι τοῦτον. διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτοματιζούσης φήμης ὥσπερ θείᾳ τινὶ προνοίᾳ διεσήμαινε τὸ δαιμόνιον τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπιβουλὴν εὐθὺς τῷ Φι-
3 λίππῳ. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἕτεραί τινες ὥσπερ ἐνθεάζουσαι ἐγένοντο φωναὶ προδηλοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καταστροφήν.

Ἐν γὰρ τῷ βασιλικῷ πότῳ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τραγῳδός, πρωτεύων τῇ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ, προστάξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου προενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων ποιημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν στρατείαν, ὁ μὲν τεχνίτης κρίνας οἰκεῖον ὑποληφθήσεσθαι τὸ ποίημα τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιπλῆξαι βουλόμενος τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καίπερ οὖσαν μεγάλην καὶ περιβόητον, ὅπως μεταπέσοι ποτ' ἄν[1] εἰς τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἤρξατο λέγειν τόδε τὸ ποίημα·

> φρονεῖτε νῦν αἰθέρος ὑψηλότερον
> καὶ μεγάλων πεδίων ἀρούρας,
> φρονεῖθ' ὑπερβαλλόμενοι
> δόμων δόμους, ἀφροσύνᾳ
> πρόσω βιοτὰν τεκμαιρόμενοι.
> ὁ δ' ἀμφιβάλλει ταχύπουν[2]
> κέλευθον ἕρπων[3] σκοτίαν,
> ἄφνω δ' ἄφαντος προσέβα
> μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας
> θνατῶν[4] πολύμοχθος Ἅιδας,[5]

[1] So L. A. Post: *ὅπως μεταπέσοιτ' ἂν* PX, *μεταπέσοι ποτὲ* R, *μεταπέσῃ ποτε* F.
[2] *ταχύπουν*] *ταχύπους* Burges.

up.[1] The casual phrase seemed like an omen sent by Providence to let Philip know that a plot was coming. There were other like words also spoken, seemingly divinely inspired, which forecast the king's death. 336/5 B.C.

At the state banquet, Philip ordered the actor Neoptolemus, matchless in the power of his voice and in his popularity, to present some well-received pieces, particularly such as bore on the Persian campaign. The artist thought that his piece would be taken as appropriate to Philip's crossing and intended to rebuke the wealth of the Persian king, great and famous as it was, (suggesting) that it could some day be overturned by fortune. Here are the words that he first sang:

> "Your thoughts reach higher than the air;
> You dream of wide fields' cultivation.
> The homes you plan surpass the homes
> That men have known, but you do err,
> Guiding your life afar.
> But one there is who'll catch the swift,
> Who goes a way obscured in gloom,
> And sudden, unseen, overtakes
> And robs us of our distant hopes——
> Death, mortals' source of many woes."[2]

[1] Such protective decrees were common (cp. Demosthenes, *C. Aristocr.* 95), the most famous being the decree of Aristocrates proposed in honour of Cersobleptes in 353 B.C.
[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², Adesp. 127; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*² 3. 744-745. The ode has been thought Aeschylean. Lines 8-9 are quoted, with slight grammatical change, by Philodemus, *De Morte*, col. 38. 12-14 (D. Bassi, *Papiri Ercolanesi*, 1; Milan, 1914).

[3] *ἕρπων* Bücheler: *ἕρπω* Pal. Vat., *ἕ* . . . . P, *αἳ* X, *ἔργῳ* *cet.*
[4] So Reiske: *θανάτων*. [5] So Rhodoman: *Ἀΐδας*.

καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐφεξῆς προσσυνεῖρε, πάντα πρὸς τὴν
4 ὁμοίαν φερόμενα διάνοιαν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπηγγελμένοις ὅλος ἦν καὶ τελείως φερόμενος τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως καταστροφήν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν πυθόχρηστον χρησμὸν ἀνελογίζετο, παραπλησίαν ἔχοντα διάνοιαν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ ῥηθεῖσι.

5 Τέλος δὲ τοῦ πότου διαλυθέντος καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβανόντων τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης συνέτρεχεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πομπῆς γινομένης σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι κατασκευαῖς εἴδωλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε ταῖς τε δημιουργίαις περιττῶς εἰργασμένα καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ πλούτου θαυμαστῶς κεκοσμημένα· σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαιδέκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπὲς εἴδωλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς.

93. Τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου πληρωθέντος αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ᾔει λευκὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον καὶ προστεταχὼς τοὺς δορυφόρους μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνακολουθεῖν· ἐνεδείκνυτο γὰρ πᾶσιν ὅτι τηρούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίᾳ τῆς τῶν δορυ-
2 φόρων φυλακῆς οὐκ ἔχει χρείαν. τηλικαύτης δ' οὔσης περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπεροχῆς καὶ πάντων ἐπαινούντων ἅμα καὶ μακαριζόντων τὸν ἄνδρα παράδοξος καὶ παντελῶς ἀνέλπιστος ἐφάνη κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
3 ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ θάνατος. ἵνα δὲ σαφὴς ὁ περὶ τούτων γένηται λόγος, προεκθησόμεθα τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς.

Παυσανίας ἦν τὸ μὲν γένος Μακεδὼν ἐκ τῆς

He continued with the rest of the song, all of it dealing with the same theme. Philip was enchanted with the message and was completely occupied with the thought of the overthrow of the Persian king, for he remembered the Pythian oracle which bore the same meaning as the words quoted by the tragic actor. 336/5 B.C.

Finally the drinking was over and the start of the games set for the following day. While it was still dark, the multitude of spectators hastened into the theatre and at sunrise the parade formed. Along with lavish display of every sort, Philip included in the procession statues of the twelve gods wrought with great artistry and adorned with a dazzling show of wealth to strike awe in the beholder, and along with these was conducted a thirteenth statue, suitable for a god, that of Philip himself, so that the king exhibited himself enthroned among the twelve gods.[1]

93. Every seat in the theatre was taken when Philip appeared wearing a white cloak, and by his express orders his bodyguard held away from him and followed only at a distance, since he wanted to show publicly that he was protected by the goodwill of all the Greeks, and had no need of a guard of spearmen.[2] Such was the pinnacle of success that he had attained, but as the praises and congratulations of all rang in his ears, suddenly without warning the plot against the king was revealed as death struck. We shall set forth the reasons for this in order that our story may be clear.

There was a Macedonian Pausanias who came of a

[1] Cp. p. 101, note 3.

[2] He walked between the two Alexanders, his son and his son-in-law (Justin, 9. 6. 3-4), and so between those who had most reason to wish his death.

'Ορεστίδος καλουμένης, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σωματο-
φύλαξ καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος φίλος γεγονὼς τοῦ Φιλίπ-
4 που. οὗτος ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαπώμενον
ἕτερον Παυσανίαν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ ὀνειδιστικοῖς
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσατο λόγοις, φήσας ἀνδρόγυνον
εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλομένων ἔρωτας ἑτοίμως
5 προσδέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς λοιδορίας ὕβριν
οὐκ ἐνέγκας τὸ μὲν παρὸν κατεσιώπησεν, 'Αττάλῳ
δέ τινι τῶν φίλων ἐπικοινωσάμενος περὶ τῶν μελ-
λόντων πράττεσθαι ἑκουσίως καὶ παραδόξως ἑαυτὸν
6 ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησεν. μετ' ὀλίγας γὰρ ἡμέρας
τοῦ Φιλίππου πρὸς Πλευρίαν[1] τὸν τῶν 'Ιλλυριῶν
βασιλέα διαγωνιζομένου πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στὰς
ἁπάσας τὰς φερομένας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πληγὰς ἀνεδέξατο
τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι καὶ μετήλλαξεν.
7 Διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς πράξεως ὁ μὲν Ἄτταλος,
εἷς ὢν τῶν ἐξ αὐλῆς καὶ πολὺ δυναμένων παρὰ τῷ
βασιλεῖ, ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τὸν Παυσανίαν καὶ
πολὺν ἐμφορήσας ἄκρατον παρέδωκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ
σῶμα τοῖς ὀρεωκόμοις εἰς ὕβριν καὶ παροινίαν
8 ἑταιρικήν. ὁ δὲ ἀνανήψας ἐκ τῆς μέθης καὶ τῇ τοῦ
σώματος ὕβρει περιαλγὴς γενόμενος τοῦ 'Αττάλου
κατηγόρησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος
παρωξύνθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ παρανομίᾳ τῆς πράξεως, διὰ
δὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἄτταλον οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ
παρὸν αὐτοῦ χρείαν οὐκ ἐβούλετο μισοπονηρεῖν·
9 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἄτταλος τῆς μὲν ἐπιγαμηθείσης γυναικὸς

[1] This is perhaps a shortened form for the usual Πλευρᾶτον.

---

[1] Justin, 9. 6. 4-8. The Orestis was a district in western Macedonia bordering on Illyria.

family from the district Orestis.[1] He a was bodyguard 336/5 B.C.
of the king and was beloved by him because of his beauty. When he saw that the king was becoming enamoured of another Pausanias (a man of the same name as himself), he addressed him with abusive language, accusing him of being a hermaphrodite and prompt to accept the amorous advances of any who wished. Unable to endure such an insult, the other kept silent for the time, but, after confiding to Attalus, one of his friends, what he proposed to do, he brought about his own death voluntarily and in a spectacular fashion. For a few days after this, as Philip was engaged in battle with Pleurias, king of the Illyrians,[2] Pausanias stepped in front of him and, receiving on his body all the blows directed at the king, so met his death.

The incident was widely discussed and Attalus, who was a member of the court circle and influential with the king, invited the first Pausanias to dinner and when he had plied him till drunk with unmixed wine, handed his unconscious body over to the muleteers to abuse in drunken licentiousness. So he presently recovered from his drunken stupor and, deeply resenting the outrage to his person, charged Attalus before the king with the outrage. Philip shared his anger at the barbarity of the act but did not wish to punish Attalus at that time because of their relationship, and because Attalus's services were needed urgently. He was the nephew[3] of the Cleopatra

[2] This battle can hardly be identified, in view of the many wars fought by Philip against the Illyrians. The last one mentioned by Diodorus was in chap. 69. 7.

[3] This is the usually stated relationship. In Book 17. 2. 3, Attalus is called Cleopatra's brother, but otherwise, with more probability, her uncle.

ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφιδοῦς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς προαπεσταλμένης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηγὸς προκεχειρισμένος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀνδρεῖος. διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς πραῦναι βουλόμενος τοῦ Παυσανίου τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει γεγενημένην δικαίαν ὀργὴν δωρεὰς ἀξιολόγους ἀπένειμεν αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σωματοφυλακίαν προῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐντίμως.

94. Ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἀμετάθετον φυλάττων τὴν ὀργὴν ἔσπευδε μὴ μόνον παρὰ τοῦ πράξαντος λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ μὴ τιμωροῦντος αὐτῷ. συνεπελάβετο δὲ ταύτης τῆς προαιρέσεως μάλιστα ὁ σοφιστὴς Ἑρμοκράτης. τοῦ γὰρ Παυσανίου σχολάζοντος αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν διατριβὴν πυθομένου πῶς ἄν τις γένοιτο ἐπιφανέστατος, ὁ σοφιστὴς ἀπεκρίθη εἰ τὸν τὰ μέγιστα πράξαντα ἀνέλοι· τῇ γὰρ περὶ τούτου μνήμῃ συμπεριληφθήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενον.
2 ἀνενέγκας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὀργὴν τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸν θυμὸν οὐδεμίαν τῆς γνώμης ὑπέρθεσιν ποιησάμενος ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀγῶσι τὴν
3 ἐπιβουλὴν συνεστήσατο τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ. ἵππους παραστησάμενος ταῖς πύλαις παρῆλθε πρὸς τὰς εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδους ἔχων κεκρυμμένην Κελτικὴν μάχαιραν. τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου τοὺς παρακολουθοῦντας φίλους κελεύσαντος προεισελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων διεστώτων, ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα

[1] These events cannot be dated exactly, but they must have occurred some years before the assassination of Philip, perhaps as early as 344 B.C. (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, p. 308).

whom the king had just married as a new wife and he 336/5 B.C.
had been selected as a general of the advanced force being sent into Asia, for he was a man valiant in battle. For these reasons, the king tried to mollify the righteous anger of Pausanias at his treatment, giving him substantial presents and advancing him in honour among the bodyguards.

94. Pausanias, nevertheless, nursed his wrath implacably,[1] and yearned to avenge himself, not only on the one who had done him wrong, but also on the one who failed to avenge him. In this design he was encouraged especially by the sophist Hermocrates.[2] He was his pupil, and when he asked in the course of his instruction how one might become most famous, the sophist replied that it would be by killing the one who had accomplished most, for just as long as he was remembered, so long his slayer would be remembered also. Pausanias connected this saying with his private resentment, and admitting no delay in his plans because of his grievance he determined to act under cover of the festival in the following manner. He posted horses at the gates of the city and came to the entrance of the theatre carrying a Celtic dagger under his cloak. When Philip directed his attending friends to precede him into the theatre, while the guards kept their distance, he saw that the king was

Pausanias waited a long time for his revenge, and it is curious that he chose the occasion most advantageous for Alexander.

[2] No sophist Hermocrates is otherwise known at this time, but it may be possible to identify this man with the grammarian of the same name who is best known to fame as the teacher of Callimachus. For the latter cp. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2 (1892), 668; O. Stählin, W. Schmid, *W. von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6], 2. 1 (1920), 126; Funaioli, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 8 (1913), 887 f.

μεμονωμένον προσέδραμε καὶ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν διανταίαν ἐνέγκας πληγὴν τὸν μὲν βασιλέα νεκρὸν ἐξέτεινεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς ἡτοιμα-
4 σμένους πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ἔθεεν[1] ἵππους. εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ὥρμησαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ σφαγέως διωγμὸν ἐξεχύθησαν,[2] ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον καὶ Λεόννατος καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Ἄτταλος. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας προλαβὼν τῆς διώξεως ἔφθασεν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναπηδήσας, εἰ μὴ τῆς ὑποδέσεως περὶ ἄμπελόν τινα περιπλακείσης ἔπεσεν. διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνιστάμενον καὶ συγκεντήσαντες ἀνεῖλον.

95. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν μέγιστος γενόμενος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλέων καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς σύν-

[1] ἔθεεν PX : ἐνέθεεν *cet.* ; ἔθει Dindorf.
[2] ἐπεχύθησαν PX.

[1] The date of Philip's death is discussed by K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2 (1923), 59. The news had not reached Athens by the end of the civil year 337/6 B.C. ; *IG* ii². 1. 240 in the tenth prytany does not know of it. On the other hand, the time must be early in the summer, for Philip was busy with preparations for an invasion of Asia Minor. A possible clue to the date is furnished by the statement of Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16. 2, concerning the battle of the Granicus : this would have taken place in the month Daesius, but as that was unlucky, Alexander ordered the intercalation of a second Artemisius. Since there is some evidence that the intercalary month was the last month of the regnal year, this establishes a certain presumption that Philip died and Alexander came to the throne in Daesius ; and this squares well enough with the evidence of the Attic inscription. Since Alexander died in Daesius, the Oxyrhynchus chronologist was correct in crediting him with thirteen years of reign. See below on Book 17. 117. 5, p. 467, note 1.

left alone, rushed at him, pierced him through his ribs, and stretched him out dead[1] ; then ran for the gates and the horses which he had prepared for his flight. Immediately one group of the bodyguards hurried to the body of the king while the rest poured out in pursuit of the assassin ; among these last were Leonnatus and Perdiccas and Attalus.[2] Having a good start, Pausanias would have mounted his horse before they could catch him had he not caught his boot in a vine and fallen. As he was scrambling to his feet, Perdiccas and the rest came up with him and killed him with their javelins. 336/5 B.C.

95. Such was the end of Philip, who had made himself the greatest of the kings in Europe in his time, and because of the extent of his kingdom had made himself a throned companion of the twelve gods.[3]

[2] This is presumably the son of Andromenes, who like Leonnatus and Perdiccas was a close friend and contemporary of Alexander ; probably they were his bodyguards and not Philip's (the term may be used loosely ; Attalus was never one of Alexander's seven or eight bodyguards proper in Asia, and Leonnatus not until 332/1, Perdiccas not until 330 ; Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1. 27). Pausanias was from Orestis, and so were two of his slayers, while Attalus was Perdiccas's brother-in-law. It is tempting to suppose that they knew of Pausanias's plan and then killed him to silence him. U. Wilcken (*SB Ak. Berlin*, 1923, 151 ff.) would find in *P. Oxy.* 1798 evidence that Pausanias was tried and executed, but the text is fragmentary and obscure, and the theory is not, to my mind, supported by Justin 11. 2. 1.

[3] The implication of this claim on Philip's part was that he was in some fashion the equal of the Twelve and entitled like them to worship ; σύνθρονος is an equivalent to σύνναος. What precisely this meant to Philip and his contemporaries is unknown ; cp. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 14, note 3 ; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Le Culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (1956), 123-125.

θρονον καταριθμήσας τοιαύτης ἔτυχε τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς, ἄρξας ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι.
2 δοκεῖ δ' οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλαχίστας μὲν εἰς τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφορμὰς παρειληφέναι, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι μοναρχιῶν κατακτήσασθαι, ηὐξηκέναι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνδραγαθίας ὡς διὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
3 ὁμιλίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. φασὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον σεμνύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας ἐπιτεύγμασιν
4 ἤπερ ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὰς μάχας[1] ἀνδρείᾳ· τῶν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας κατορθωμάτων μετέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς στρατευομένους, τῶν δὲ διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας γινομένων ἐπιτευγμάτων αὐτὸν μόνον λαμβάνειν τὴν ἐπιγραφήν.
5 Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, ταύτην μὲν τὴν βίβλον αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν, τῆς δ' ἐχομένης ἀρχὴν[2] τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου παράληψιν τῆς βασιλείας ποιησάμενοι πειρασόμεθα περιλαβεῖν ἁπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις ἐν μιᾷ βίβλῳ.

[1] *μάχας* Reiske : *συμμαχίας*.
[2] *τὴν ἀρχὴν* PX ; *ἀρχῆς cet.* Hertlein deleted *τήν*.

He had ruled twenty-four years. He is known to 386/5 B.C.
fame as one who with but the slenderest resources to support his claim to a throne won for himself the greatest empire in the Greek world, while the growth of his position was not due so much to his prowess in arms as to his adroitness and cordiality in diplomacy. Philip himself is said to have been prouder of his grasp of strategy and his diplomatic successes than of his valour in actual battle. Every member of his army shared in the successes which were won in the field but he alone got credit for victories won through negotiation.[1]

Now that we have come to the death of Philip, we shall conclude this book here according to our original statement.[2] Beginning the next one with Alexander's accession as king we shall try to include all of his career in one book.

[1] Diodorus mentions none of the suspicion which attached to Olympias and Alexander concerning the assassination of Philip, and his judgement on Philip is more favourable than that of others. Cp. Justin, 9. 7-8, and for the suspicion, Plutarch, *Alexander*, 9-10 ; Arrian, 3. 6. 5.
[2] Stated in chap. 1. 1-3.

BOOK XVII

Τῶν Διοδώρου βύβλων τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης εἰς δύο διῃρημένης ἡ πρώτη περιέχει τάδε

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.

Ὡς τὰ νεωτερίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀνεκτήσατο.

Ὡς Θήβας κατασκάψας καὶ φόβον ἐπιστήσας τοῖς Ἕλλησι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾑρέθη.

Ὡς διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τοὺς σατράπας ἐνίκησε περὶ τὸν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ Γρανικὸν ποταμόν.

Ὡς Μίλητον καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσὸν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

Μάχη Δαρείου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἰσσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ νίκη Ἀλεξάνδρου.

Τύρου πολιορκία καὶ Αἰγύπτου παράληψις καὶ πάροδος εἰς Ἄμμωνα τοῦ βασιλέως.

Παράταξις ἐν Ἀρβήλοις Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς Δαρεῖον καὶ νίκη Ἀλεξάνδρου.

Μάχη Ἀντιπάτρου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ νίκη Ἀντιπάτρου.

Ἡ δευτέρα περιέχει τάδε

Ἀρβήλων ἅλωσις ὑπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ κατάληψις πολλῶν χρημάτων.

THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS: IN TWO PARTS

Contents of Part One

How Alexander, having succeeded to the throne, disposed the affairs of his kingdom (chaps. 1-7).

How he recovered the tribes which revolted (chap. 8. 1-2).

How he razed Thebes to the ground and terrified the Greeks and was elected general plenipotentiary of Greece (chaps. 8. 3–16).

How he crossed into Asia and defeated the satraps at the river Granicus in Phrygia (chaps. 17-21).

How he took by siege Miletus and Halicarnassus (chaps. 22-27).

The battle of Dareius against Alexander at Issus in Cilicia and the victory of Alexander (chaps. 30-39).

The siege of Tyre, the occupation of Egypt, and the journey of the king to Ammon (chaps. 40-52).

The battle of Alexander with Dareius at Arbela and the victory of Alexander (chaps 53-61).

The battle of Antipater with the Lacedaemonians and the victory of Antipater (chaps. 62-63).

Contents of Part Two

The capture of Arbela by Alexander and the seizure of great wealth (chap. 64. 1-3).

Ἀνάληψις τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ δωρεαὶ τοῖς ἀνδραγαθήσασι.

Παρουσία τῶν ἀποσταλέντων μισθοφόρων καὶ συμμάχων.

Διάταξις καὶ κατασκευὴ τῆς δυνάμεως.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος παρέλαβε Σοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θησαυρούς.

Ὡς τῶν παρόδων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Σουσιάδων[1] Πυλῶν ἐκράτησεν.

Ὡς τοὺς ἀκρωτηριασθέντας Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτησε καὶ τὴν Περσέπολιν παραλαβὼν διήρπασεν.

Ὡς κωμάσας ἐνέπρησε τὰ βασίλεια.

Δαρείου θάνατος ὑπὸ Βήσσου.

Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεία εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυομένων παραδόξων ἀπαγγελία.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Μάρδους στρατεύσας κατεπολέμησε τὸ ἔθνος.

Ὡς Θάληστρις ἡ τῶν Ἀμαζονίδων βασιλεύουσα συνέμιξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

Ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνικήτον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι νομίσας ἐζήλωσε τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν.

Στρατεία Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας Ἀρείους καὶ ἅλωσις τῆς Πέτρας.

Ἐπιβουλὴ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κόλασις τῶν ἐπιθεμένων, ὧν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Παρμενίων καὶ Φιλώτας.

Στρατεία Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τοὺς Παροπανισάδας καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα κατ' αὐτήν.

[1] Added by Wesseling (cp. chap. 68. 1, 2).

CONTENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK

The refreshment of the army in Babylon and the rewards given to those who had distinguished themselves in service (chap. 64. 3-6).

The arrival of the mercenaries and allies dispatched to him (chap. 65. 1).

The organization and equipment of his army (chap. 65. 2-4).

How Alexander occupied Susa and its treasures (chap. 65. 5–66).

How he mastered the passes and took possession of the so-called Susian Gates (chaps. 67-68).

How he showed kindness to the Greeks who had been mutilated, and took and sacked Persepolis (chaps. 69-71).

How he set fire to the palace in a revel (chap. 72).

The murder of Dareius by Bessus (chap. 73. 1-4).

The expedition of Alexander into Hyrcania and an account of its marvellous plants (chap. 75).

How Alexander took the field against the Mardi and defeated them (chap. 76).

How Thalestris queen of the Amazons had relations with Alexander (chap. 77. 1-3).

How the king, thinking himself invincible, imitated the luxury of the Persians (chap. 77. 4-7).

The campaign of Alexander against the Areii who had revolted and the capture of the " Rock " (chap. 78).

The conspiracy against the king and the punishment of the conspirators, the most distinguished among them being Parmenion and Philotas (chaps. 79-80).

The campaign of Alexander into the territory of the Paropanisadae and his adventures there (chap. 82).

Ἡ γενομένη ἐν Ἀρείοις μονομαχία καὶ παράληψις τοῦ ἔθνους.

Βήσσου τοῦ ἀνελόντος Δαρεῖον θάνατος.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου πορευθεὶς πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Ὡς τοὺς Βραγχίδας τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Περσῶν μετοικισθέντας εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς βασιλείας ὡς προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρος.

Ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Σογδιανοὺς καὶ Σκύθας ἐστράτευσεν.

Ὡς οἱ πρωτεύοντες Σογδιανῶν ἀπαγόμενοι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον παραδόξως ἐσώθησαν.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποστάντας τοὺς Σογδιανοὺς κατεπολέμησε καὶ κατέσφαξεν αὐτῶν πλείους τῶν δώδεκα μυριάδων.

Ὡς Βακτριανοὺς ἐκόλασε καὶ Σογδιανοὺς τὸ δεύτερον ἐχειρώσατο καὶ πόλεις ἔκτισεν εὐκαίρως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀφισταμένων κολάσεις.

Ἀπόστασις τρίτη Σογδιανῶν καὶ ἅλωσις τῶν εἰς τὴν Πέτραν καταφυγόντων.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Βασίστοις[1] κυνηγίου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θηρίων.

Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ἁμαρτίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὸν πότον ἀναιρέσεως Κλείτου.

Περὶ τῆς Καλλισθένους τελευτῆς.

Στρατεία τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους Ναύτακας[2] καὶ φθορὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ πολλῆς χιόνος.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρασθεὶς Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου ἔγημεν αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς ἔπεισε γῆμαι τὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων βαρβάρων θυγατέρας.

[1] *Bazaira* in Curtius, 8. 1. 10.
[2] *Nautaca* in Curtius, 8. 2. 19.

The single combat that took place in the territory of the Areii and their annexation (chap. 83. 1-6).

The death of Bessus, the murderer of Dareius (chap. 83. 7-9).

How Alexander marched through the desert and lost many of his men (this and the subsequent chapters are missing).

How the Branchidae, who of old had been settled by the Persians on the borders of their kingdom, were slain by Alexander as traitors to the Greeks.

How the king led his troops against the Sogdiani and Scythians.

How the chieftains of the Sogdiani, who were being led off to execution, were unexpectedly saved.

How Alexander defeated the Sogdiani who had revolted and slew more than one hundred and twenty thousand of them.

How he punished the Bactriani and subdued the Sogdiani a second time and founded cities in suitable places to restrain any who rebelled.

The third rebellion of the Sogdiani and capture of those who took refuge in the " Rock."

Concerning the hunt in Basista and the abundance of game there.

Concerning the sin against Dionysus and the slaying of Cleitus at the drinking bout.

Concerning the death of Callisthenes.

The campaign of the king against the people called Nautaces and the destruction of the army in heavy snow.

How Alexander, enamoured of Roxanê, daughter of Oxyartes, married her and persuaded numbers of his friends to marry the daughters of the prominent Iranians.

Παρασκευὴ τῆς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς στρατείας.

Ἐμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ ἀναίρεσις ἄρδην τοῦ πρώτου ἔθνους πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἄλλων.

Ὡς τὴν Νυσίαν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν εὐεργέτησε διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Διονύσου συγγένειαν.

Ὡς Μάσσακα[1] πόλιν ὀχυρὰν ἐκπορθήσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἅπαντας λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένους κατέκοψεν.

Ὡς τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην Πέτραν, ἀνάλωτον ἀεὶ γεγενημένην, ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

Ὡς Ταξίλην μὲν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσηγάγετο, Πῶρον δὲ μεγάλῃ παρατάξει νικήσας καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας, ἀπέδωκε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν.

Ἀπαγγελία τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν παραδόξων ὄφεών τε καὶ τῶν φυομένων καρπῶν.

Ὡς τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ μὲν προσηγάγετο, τὰ δὲ κατεπολέμησεν.

Ὡς τὴν ὑπὸ Σωπείθην τεταγμένην ἐχειρώσατο.

Περὶ τῆς εὐνομίας τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ πόλεων.

Περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν δωρηθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κυνῶν.

Περὶ τῆς ἀφηγήσεως[2] τοῦ Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως.

Ὡς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βουλομένου διαβῆναι τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας ὀνομαζομένους οἱ Μακεδόνες οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν.

Ὡς ὅρια θέμενος τῆς στρατείας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν.[3]

[1] Μάσσαγα in Arrian, 4. 26. 1; Μασόγα πόλις Strabo, 15. 1. 27; *ad Mazagas* Curtius, 8. 10. 22.

[2] Dindorf would supply Φηγέως from chap. 93. 2.

Preparation for the campaign against the Indians.

Invasion of India and complete annihilation of their first nation in order to overawe the rest.

How he benefited the city named Nysia because of his relationship to it through Dionysus.

How, after plundering the stronghold of Massaca, he cut down all the mercenaries although they fought magnificently (chap. 84).

How he took by assault the Rock called Aornus, which had always proved impregnable (chap. 85).

How he won over to his side Taxiles, king of the Indians, and in a great engagement defeated Porus, took him prisoner and gave him back his throne because of his gallant conduct (chaps. 86-89).

An account of the marvellous serpents in the country and of the fruits which grow there (chap. 90).

How he won over to his side many of the neighbouring tribes and defeated others (chap. 91. 1-4).

How he subdued the country that was subject to Sopeithes (chap. 91. 4).

Concerning the good government of the cities in this country (chap. 91. 4-6).

Concerning the excellence of the dogs presented to Alexander (chap. 92).

Concerning the story told by the king of the Indians (chap. 93. 1-3).

How, when Alexander desired to cross the Ganges River and march against the people called Gandaridae, the Macedonians mutinied (chaps. 93. 4–94).

How, after marking the furthest point reached by his army, the king visited the remaining regions of the Indians (chap. 95).

[3] MSS. add καὶ τοξευθεὶς ἐκινδύνευσε, transferred by Cospus to follow Ὠκεανόν *infra*.

Ὡς διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν Ὠκεανόν, καὶ τοξευθεὶς ἐκινδύνευσεν.[1]

Περὶ τῆς γενομένης μονομαχίας ἐκ προκλήσεως.

Περὶ τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων Ἰνδῶν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ.

Περὶ τῶν παραδόξων[2] καὶ νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τῶν θηριώδη βίον ἐχόντων.

Ὡς οἱ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλεύσαντες συνέμιξαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν ἐστρατοπεδευκότι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀπήγγειλαν.

Ὡς πάλιν ἐκπλεύσαντες πολλὴν τῆς παραθαλαττίας χώρας παρέπλευσαν.

Ὡς τῶν Περσῶν τρισμυρίους νεανίσκους ἐπιλέξας καὶ παιδεύσας τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀντίταγμα κατεσκεύασε τῇ Μακεδονικῇ φάλαγγι.

Ὡς Ἅρπαλος διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν δαπανημάτων διαβληθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱκέτης ἐγένετο.

Ὡς διαδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀνῃρέθη καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἑπτακόσια μὲν τάλαντα παρέθετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τετρακισχίλια δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους ὀκτακισχιλίους[3] περὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀπέλιπεν.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς γεγηρακότας τῶν Μακεδόνων χρεολυτήσας καὶ καταναλώσας μύρια τάλαντα ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας.

Ὡς στασιαζόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκόλασε τοὺς αἰτίους.

[1] See note 3 on page 113.
[2] So Cospus: παραδόσεων.
[3] So MSS.: ἑξακισχιλίους chap. 108. 6.

Ὡς Πευκέστης ἤγαγε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιλέξας τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας μυρίους.[1]

Ὡς τὰς τάξεις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησεν ἀναμίξας τοῖς Μακεδόσι Πέρσας.

Ὡς τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις παισὶ μυρίοις οὖσι τὰς δαπάνας καὶ παιδείας μισθοὺς ἅπασιν ἐχορήγει.

Ὡς Λεωσθένης ἤρξατο κινεῖν τὸν πρὸς Μακεδόνας πόλεμον.

Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους ἐστράτευσεν.

Ὡς πορευμένου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Βαβυλῶνα προεῖπον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τελευτήσειν αὐτόν, ἐὰν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἰσέλθῃ.

Ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν κατεπλάγη καὶ παρήλλαξε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων πεισθεὶς κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

Περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν παραγενομένων πρεσβειῶν.

Περὶ τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν δαπανηθέντων χρημάτων.

Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν γεγενημένων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ.

[1] So MSS.: *δισμυρίους* Cospus, cp. Arrian, 7. 23. 1.

How Peucestes brought to Alexander ten thousand bowmen and slingers whom he had recruited from among the Persians (chap. 110. 2).

How the king reorganized his army by intermingling Persians with Macedonians (chap. 110. 1).

How he paid expenses and educational fees for all the soldiers' children, ten thousand in number (chap. 110. 3).

How Leosthenes made preparations for starting a war against the Macedonians (chap. 111. 1-3).

How Alexander campaigned against the Cossaeans (chap. 111. 4-6).

How, as the king was on his way to Babylon, the Chaldaeans prophesied to Alexander that he would die if he entered Babylon (chap. 112. 1-3).

How the king at first was frightened and passed Babylon by, but later, persuaded by the Greek philosophers, entered the city (chap. 112. 4-6).

Concerning the multitude of embassies that arrived there (chap. 113).

Concerning the funeral of Hephaestion and the large sum expended on it (chaps. 114-115).

Concerning the omens that appeared to Alexander and concerning his death (chaps. 116-118).

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΠΤΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος, οὖσα τῆς ὅλης
συντάξεως ἑξκαιδεκάτη, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς
Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου βασιλείας· περιελήφθησαν
δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ πράξεις αἱ μὲν τοῦ Φιλίππου πᾶσαι
μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων τε
καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ὅσαι γεγόνασι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς
βασιλείας ταύτης χρόνους, ὄντας ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ
2 τεσσάρων. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις
ἀναγράφοντες ἀρξόμεθα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
βασιλείας, περιλαβόντες δὲ τὰ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
πραχθέντα μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς συναναγράψομεν καὶ
τὰ ἅμα τούτοις συντελεσθέντα ἐν τοῖς γνωριζο-
μένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα
ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὰς πράξεις εὐμνημονεύτους ἔσε-
σθαι, κεφαλαιωδῶς τεθείσας καὶ συνεχὲς ἐχούσας
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ τέλος.
3 Ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ μεγάλας πράξεις οὗτος ὁ
βασιλεὺς κατειργάσατο καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν σύνεσίν
τε καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὑπερεβάλετο τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων
πάντας τοὺς ἐξ αἰῶνος τῇ μνήμῃ παραδεδομένους
4 βασιλεῖς· ἐν ἔτεσι γὰρ δώδεκα καταστρεψάμενος
τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὴν δὲ Ἀσίαν σχεδὸν
ἅπασαν εἰκότως περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν δόξαν καὶ
τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ ἡμιθέοις ἰσάζουσαν. ἀλλὰ
γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ προλαμ-

BOOK XVII

1. The preceding book, which was the sixteenth of the *Histories*, began with the coronation of Philip the son of Amyntas and included his whole career down to his death, together with those events connected with other kings, peoples and cities which occurred in the years of his reign, twenty-four in number. In this book we shall continue the systematic narrative beginning with the accession of Alexander, and include both the history of this king down to his death as well as contemporary events in the known parts of the world. This is the best method, I think, of ensuring that events will be remembered, for thus the material is arranged topically, and each story is told without interruption.

Alexander accomplished great things in a short space of time, and by his acumen and courage surpassed in the magnitude of his achievements all kings whose memory is recorded from the beginning of time. In twelve years he conquered no small part of Europe and practically all of Asia, and so acquired a fabulous reputation like that of the heroes and demigods of old. But there is really no need to anticipate

βάνειν τι τῶν κατωρθωμένων τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ· αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἱκανῶς μηνύσουσι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν γεγονὼς κατὰ πατέρα μὲν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὲ μητέρα τῶν Αἰακιδῶν οἰκείαν ἔσχε τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς τῶν προγόνων εὐδοξίας. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἁρμόττοντας τῇ γραφῇ χρόνους παραθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας πράξεις τρεψόμεθα.

2. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν Εὐαινέτου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Φούριον καὶ Γάιον Μάνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς φονεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς ἁρμοζούσης τιμωρίας ἠξίωσε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ταφῆς τοῦ γονέως τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενος κατέστησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν
2 ἀρχὴν πολὺ κάλλιον ἢ πάντες προσεδόκησαν. νέος γὰρ ὢν παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπό τινων καταφρονούμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πλήθη οἰκείοις λόγοις παρεστήσατο πρὸς εὔνοιαν· ἔφη γὰρ ὄνομα μόνον διηλλάχθαι βασιλέως, τὰς δὲ πράξεις χειρισθήσεσθαι μηδὲν καταδεέστερον τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γενομένης οἰκονομίας· ἔπειτα ταῖς πρεσβείαις χρη-

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2. 1. Alexander's most prominent ancestor on his mother's side was Achilles. Both the Aeacids and the Argeads traced their ancestry back to Zeus.

[2] Evaenetus was archon from July 335 to June 334 B.C. Broughton (1. 138) gives the consuls of 338 B.C. as L. Furius Camillus and C. Maenius.

[3] Diodorus has not previously suggested that any others knew of the plans of Pausanias, who was killed immediately and so could not reveal any accomplices (Book 16. 94. 4). Alexander himself was the principal beneficiary of the

in the introduction any of the accomplishments of this king; his deeds reported one by one will attest sufficiently the greatness of his glory. On his father's side Alexander was a descendant of Heracles and on his mother's he could claim the blood of the Aeacids, so that from his ancestors on both sides he inherited the physical and moral qualities of greatness.[1] Pointing out as we proceed the chronology of events, we shall pass on to the happenings which concern our history.

2. When Evaenetus was archon at Athens, the 335/4 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Lucius Furius and Gaius Manius.[2] In this year Alexander, succeeding to the throne, first inflicted due punishment on his father's murderers,[3] and then devoted himself to the funeral of his father. He established his authority far more firmly than any did in fact suppose possible, for he was quite young and for this reason not uniformly respected, but first he promptly won over the Macedonians to his support by tactful statements.[4] He declared that the king was changed only in name and that the state would be run on principles no less effective than those of his father's administration. Then he addressed himself to the embassies which were

murder, and he has been suspected of complicity, especially because, as only half of Macedonian blood, he was not universally popular. At all events, the known victims of this purge were Alexander's own rivals: his older cousin Amyntas, son of King Perdiccas III; the family of Alexander of Lyncestis, although he himself was spared; and Philip's wife Cleopatra and her infant daughter, killed by Olympias. These murders were not forgotten (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 10. 4; *On the Fortune of Alexander*, 1. 3. 327 c; Curtius, 6. 9. 17 and 10. 24; Justin, 11. 2. 1-3 and 12. 6. 14). These events are ignored by Arrian, and Curtius's preserved narrative begins only when Alexander was in Phrygia.

[4] Justin, 11. 1. 8.

ματίσας φιλανθρώπως παρεκάλεσε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πατροπαράδοτον εὔνοιαν.
3 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πυκνὰς ποιησάμενος ἐξοπλισίας μελέτας τε καὶ γυμνασίας πολεμικὰς εὐπειθῆ κατεσκεύασε τὴν δύναμιν.

Ἔχων δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἔφεδρον Ἄτταλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦτον ἔκρινεν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανε παιδίον ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γεγονὸς τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγαις
4 πρότερον ἡμέραις. ὁ δ' Ἄτταλος προαπεσταλμένος ἦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηγὸς τῶν δυνάμεων μετὰ Παρμενίωνος, εὐεργετικὸς δ' ὢν καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐκθεραπεύων τοὺς στρατιώτας μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν ἀποδοχῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. εὐλόγως οὖν τοῦτον εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσηται συνεργοὺς λαβὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἐναν-
5 τιουμένους ἑαυτῷ. διόπερ τῶν φίλων προχειρισάμενος Ἑκαταῖον ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν στρατιωτῶν, δοὺς ἐντολὰς μάλιστα μὲν ἀγαγεῖν ζῶντα τὸν Ἄτταλον, ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δύνηται κατεργάσασθαι, δολοφονῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα
6 τὴν ταχίστην. οὗτος μὲν οὖν διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ συμμίξας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ Ἄτταλον ἐπετήρει τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προκεχειρισμένης πράξεως.

3. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πυθόμενος πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεώρους εἶναι πρὸς καινοτομίαν εἰς πολλὴν
2 ἀγωνίαν ἐνέπιπτεν. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένους δημαγωγοῦντος κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων τήν τε

[1] In Book 16. 93. 9, Attalus was called Cleopatra's nephew, but he was apparently her uncle and guardian (Berve, *Alex-*

present and in affable fashion bade the Greeks maintain towards him the loyalty which they had shown to his father. He busied his soldiers with constant training in the use of their weapons and with tactical exercises, and established discipline in the army. 335/4 B.C.

A possible rival for the throne remained in Attalus, who was the brother of Cleopatra, the last wife of Philip, and Alexander determined to kill him. As a matter of fact, Cleopatra had borne a child to Philip a few days before his death.[1] Attalus had been sent on ahead into Asia to share the command of the forces with Parmenion and had acquired great popularity in the army by his readiness to do favours and his easy bearing with the soldiers. Alexander had good reason to fear that he might challenge his rule, making common cause with those of the Greeks who opposed him, and selected from among his friends a certain Hecataeus and sent him off to Asia with a number of soldiers, under orders to bring back Attalus alive if he could, but if not, to assassinate him as quickly as possible. So he crossed over into Asia, joined Parmenion and Attalus and awaited an opportunity to carry out his mission.

3. Alexander knew that many of the Greeks were anxious to revolt, and was seriously worried. In Athens, where Demosthenes kept agitating against

anderreich, 2. 94). He may well have been disaffected because of the murder of Cleopatra and her daughter, but he had no known claim upon the throne of Macedonia. He was, at all events, loyal to Philip and hostile to Philip's assassin (Book 16. 93. 5-9).

Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἀσμένως ἤκουσαν καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐξεχώρουν τοῖς Μακεδόσι, διαπρεσβευσάμενοι δὲ πρὸς Ἄτταλον ἐν ἀπορρήτοις συνετίθεντο κοινοπραγίαν καὶ πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων προετρέποντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι.

3 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ κατάγειν τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας φυγά-
δας ἐψηφίσαντο διὰ Φίλιππον πεῖραν εἰληφότας τῆς
φυγῆς. Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ πεισθέντες Ἀριστάρχῳ
τὴν μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κατασταθεῖσαν φρουρὰν
ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐποίησαν δημοκρατεῖσθαι·
4 ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις Θηβαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ
φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
μὴ συγχωρεῖν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν. Ἀρ-
κάδες δὲ οὔτε Φιλίππῳ συνεχώρησαν τὴν ἡγεμο-
νίαν μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσ-
5 έσχον· τῶν δ' ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων Ἀργεῖοι καὶ
Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καί τινες ἕτεροι πρὸς
τὴν αὐτονομίαν ὥρμησαν. τῶν δὲ ὑπεροικούντων
τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐθνῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀπόστασιν
ὥρμα καὶ πολλὴ ταραχὴ κατεῖχε τοὺς τῇδε κατοι-
κοῦντας βαρβάρους.

6 Ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικούτων πραγμάτων καὶ τοσούτων φόβων κατεχόντων τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος νέος ὢν παντελῶς ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δυσχερῆ παραδόξως καὶ συντόμως κατεστήσατο· οὓς μὲν γὰρ πειθοῖ διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας προσηγάγετο, οὓς δὲ φόβῳ διωρθώσατο, τινὰς δὲ βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο.

4. Πρώτους δὲ Θετταλοὺς ὑπομνήσας τῆς ἀρ-

[1] Justin, 11. 2. 4-5. Aristarchus, presumably an Ambraciot, is otherwise unknown. Diodorus has inverted the rôles of

Macedon, the news of Philip's death was received 335/4 B.C.
with rejoicing, and the Athenians were not ready to concede the leading position among the Greeks to Macedon. They communicated secretly with Attalus and arranged to co-operate with him, and they encouraged many of the cities to strike for their freedom.

The Aetolians voted to restore those of the Acarnanians who had experienced exile because of Philip. The Ambraciots were persuaded by one Aristarchus to expel the garrison placed in their city by Philip and to transform their government into a democracy. Similarly, the Thebans voted to drive out the garrison in the Cadmeia and not to concede to Alexander the leadership of the Greeks. The Arcadians alone of the Greeks had never acknowledged Philip's leadership nor did they now recognize that of Alexander. Otherwise in the Peloponnesus the Argives and Eleians and Lacedaemonians, with others, moved to recover their independence.[1] Beyond the frontiers of Macedonia, many tribes moved toward revolt and a general feeling of unrest swept through the natives in that quarter.[2]

But, for all the problems and fears that beset his kingdom on every side, Alexander, who had only just reached manhood, brought everything into order impressively and swiftly. Some he won by persuasion and diplomacy, others he frightened into keeping the peace,[3] but some had to be mastered by force and so reduced to submission.

4. First he dealt with the Thessalians, reminding

the Arcadians and the Lacedaemonians; it was the latter who had never been subject to Philip. Cp. further below, chap. 4.

[2] Cp. below, chap. 8. 1.

[3] Arrian, 1. 1. 3 (with reference to Athens).

χαίας ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους συγγενείας καὶ λόγοις φιλανθρώποις, ἔτι δὲ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις μετεωρίσας ἔπεισε τὴν πατροπαράδοτον ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι κοινῷ τῆς Θετταλίας δόγματι.
2 μετὰ δὲ τούτους τὰ συνορίζοντα[1] τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν εὔνοιαν προσαγαγόμενος παρῆλθεν εἰς Πύλας καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνέδριον συναγαγὼν ἔπεισεν ἑαυτῷ κοινῷ δόγματι δοθῆναι τὴν
3 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν. τοῖς δ' Ἀμβρακιώταις διαπρεσβευόμενος καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁμιλήσας ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς βραχεῖ προειληφέναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δίδοσθαι μετὰ προθυμίας αὐτονομίαν.

4 Πρὸς δὲ τὴν κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μακεδόνων κεκοσμημένην καταπληκτικῶς. ὀξείαις δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις χρησάμενος ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ πλησίον τῆς Καδμείας καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἐπέστησε τὸν φόβον
5 τῇ πόλει τῶν Θηβαίων. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι τὴν εἰς Βοιωτίαν πάροδον τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς προϋπαρχούσης καταφρονήσεως ἀπέστησαν· ἡ γὰρ ὀξύτης τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐνέργεια τοὺς ἀλλοτριοφρονοῦντας μεγά-
6 λως ἐξέπληττεν. διόπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἐψηφίσαντο κατακομίζειν, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις ἐξαπέστειλαν, ἀξιοῦντες συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μὴ ταχέως συγχωροῦσιν.

7 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐκπεμφθεὶς οὐ συνῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας,

[1] So Dindorf (cp. chaps. 76. 1, 96. 3): τοὺς συνορίζοντας.

them of his ancient relationship to them through 335/4 B.C.
Heracles and raising their hopes by kindly words and by rich promises as well, and prevailed upon them by formal vote of the Thessalian League to recognize as his the leadership of Greece which he had inherited from his father.[1] Next he won over the neighbouring tribes similarly, and so marched down to Pylae, where he convened the assembly of the Amphictyons and had them pass a resolution granting him the leadership of the Greeks. He gave audience to the envoys of the Ambraciots and, addressing them in friendly fashion, convinced them that they had been only a little premature in grasping the independence that he was on the point of giving them voluntarily.

In order to overawe those who refused to yield otherwise, he set out at the head of the army of the Macedonians in full battle array. With forced marches he arrived in Boeotia and encamping near the Cadmeia threw the city of the Thebans into a panic. As the Athenians immediately learned that the king had passed into Boeotia, they too abandoned their previous refusal to take him seriously. So much the rapid moves and energetic action of the young man shook the confidence of those who opposed him. The Athenians, accordingly, voted to bring into the city their property scattered throughout Attica and to look to the repair of their walls, but they also sent envoys to Alexander, asking forgiveness for tardy recognition of his leadership.

Even Demosthenes was included among the envoys; he did not, however, go with the others to Alexander, but turned back at Cithaeron and re-

[1] Justin, 11. 3. 1-2. Alexander had in Achilles a common ancestor with the Aleuadae of Larissa.

εἴτε διὰ τὰ πεπολιτευμένα κατὰ Μακεδόνων φοβη-
θείς, εἴτε βουλόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν
8 ἄμεμπτον αὑτὸν διαφυλάττειν. πολλὰ γὰρ χρή-
ματά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Περσῶν, ἵνα
πολιτεύηται κατὰ Μακεδόνων· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν
Αἰσχίνην φασὶν ὀνειδίζοντα τῷ Δημοσθένει κατά
τινα λόγον τὴν δωροδοκίαν εἰπεῖν, Νῦν μέντοι τὴν
δαπάνην ἐπικέκλυκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον.
ἔσται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε
9 πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλανθρώπους
ἀποκρίσεις δοὺς ἀπέλυσε τοῦ πολλοῦ φόβου τὸν
δῆμον.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου παραγγείλαντος εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπαντᾶν τάς τε πρεσβείας καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐπειδὴ συνῆλθον οἱ συνεδρεύειν εἰωθότες, διαλεχθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ λόγοις ἐπιεικέσι χρησάμενος ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ψηφίσασθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ συστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήμαρτον. τυχὼν δὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

5. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διήλθομεν, μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πράξεις. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν Ἄτταλος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει νεωτερίζειν καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους συνετίθετο κοινοπραγίαν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὕστερον δὲ μετανοήσας τὴν μὲν ἀποδοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ Δημοσθένους ἐπιστολὴν τηρήσας ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ λόγοις φιλανθρώποις ἐπειρᾶτο τὰς καθ' αὑτοῦ διαβολὰς

turned to Athens, whether fearful because of the anti-Macedonian course that he had pursued in politics, or merely wishing to leave no ground of complaint to the king of Persia. He was generally believed to have received large sums of money from that source in payment for his efforts to check the Macedonians, and indeed Aeschines is said to have referred to this in a speech when he taunted Demosthenes with his venality: "At the moment, it is true, his extravagance has been glutted by the king's gold, but even this will not satisfy him; no wealth has ever proved sufficient for a greedy character."[1] Alexander addressed the Athenian envoys kindly and freed the people from their acute terror. 335/4 B.C.

Then he called a meeting at Corinth of envoys and delegates, and when the usual representatives came, he spoke to them in moderate terms and had them pass a resolution appointing him general plenipotentiary of the Greeks and undertaking themselves to join in an expedition against Persia seeking satisfaction for the offences which the Persians had committed against Greece.[2] Successful in this, the king returned to Macedonia with his army.

5. Now that we have described what took place in Greece, we shall shift our account to the events in Asia. Here, immediately after the death of Philip, Attalus actually had set his hand to revolt and had agreed with the Athenians to undertake joint action against Alexander, but later he changed his mind. Preserving the letter which had been brought to him from Demosthenes,[3] he sent it off to Alexander and tried by expressions of loyalty to remove from him-

[1] Aeschines, 3. 173, with a slightly different word order.
[2] Justin, 11. 2. 5. [3] Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 23. 2.

2 ἀποτρίβεσθαι· τοῦ δ' Ἑκαταίου κατὰ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολὰς δολοφονήσαντος τὸν Ἄτταλον ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων δύναμις ἐπαύσατο τοῦ μετεωρίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, τοῦ μὲν Ἀττάλου πεφονευμένου, τοῦ δὲ Παρμενίωνος οἰκειότατα διακειμένου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

3 Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείας μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς ἀναγράφειν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι βραχὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προαναλαβεῖν τὴν ἱστορίαν. Φιλίππου γὰρ ἔτι βασιλεύοντος ἦρχε τῶν Περσῶν Ὦχος καὶ προσεφέρετο τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ὠμῶς καὶ βιαίως. μισουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν τρόπων Βαγώας ὁ χιλίαρχος, εὐνοῦχος μὲν ὢν τὴν ἕξιν, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ πολεμικὸς τὴν φύσιν, ἀνεῖλε φαρμάκῳ τὸν Ὦχον διά τινος ἰατροῦ, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρσὴν[1] εἰσήγαγεν
4 εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὄντας νέους παντελῶς, ὅπως μονωθεὶς ὁ νεανίσκος μᾶλλον ὑπήκοος αὐτῷ γένηται. τοῦ δὲ μειρακίου ταῖς γενομέναις παρανομίαις προσκόπτοντος καὶ φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος ὅτι τιμωρήσεται τὸν αὐθέντην τῶν ἀνομημάτων, φθάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ὁ Βαγώας ἀνεῖλε τὸν Ἀρσὴν μετὰ τῶν
5 τέκνων τρίτον ἔτος ἤδη βασιλεύοντα. ἐρήμου δ' ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ

[1] Ἀρσὴν] Ἀρσῆν F.

[1] Continued from chap. 2, above. It is incredible that the assassination of Attalus could have occurred without the

self any possible suspicion. Hecataeus, however, following the instructions of the king literally, had him killed by treachery,[1] and thereafter the Macedonian forces in Asia were free from any incitement to revolution, Attalus being dead and Parmenion completely devoted to Alexander. 335/4 B.C.

As our narrative is now to treat of the kingdom of the Persians, we must go back a little to pick up the thread.[2] While Philip was still king, Ochus[3] ruled the Persians and oppressed his subjects cruelly and harshly. Since his savage disposition made him hated, the chiliarch Bagoas, a eunuch in physical fact but a militant rogue in disposition, killed him by poison administered by a certain physician and placed upon the throne the youngest of his sons, Arses. He similarly made away with the brothers of the new king, who were barely of age, in order that the young man might be isolated and tractable to his control. But the young king let it be known that he was offended at Bagoas's previous outrageous behaviour and was prepared to punish the author of these crimes, so Bagoas anticipated his intentions and killed Arses and his children also while he was still in the third year of his reign.[4] The royal house was thus extinguished, and there was no one in the direct line of

connivance of Parmenion, who may have been pleased to be rid of the head of a rival faction at court (but Curtius, 6. 9. 18, reports that Attalus was Parmenion's son-in-law). And Attalus could not be left alive after the execution of his niece.

[2] Continued from Book 16. 52. Cp. Justin, 10. 3.

[3] Ochus has been mentioned previously by his throne name Artaxerxes.

[4] The king lists give Arses two years, 338–336 B.C., but he was in his third regnal year at the time of his death. His second year, 337/6 B.C., was the only full one which he enjoyed.

κατὰ γένος διαδεξομένου τὴν ἀρχήν, προχειρισάμενος ἕνα τῶν φίλων Δαρεῖον ὄνομα τούτῳ συγκατεσκεύασε τὴν βασιλείαν. οὗτος δ' ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀρσάνου τοῦ Ὀστάνου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἀρταξέρ-
6 ξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλεύσαντος. ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη περὶ τὸν Βαγώαν γενέσθαι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον· χρώμενος γὰρ τῇ συνήθει μιαιφονίᾳ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐπεβάλετο διὰ φαρμακείας ἀνελεῖν· μηνυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπί τινι φιλανθρωπίᾳ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Βαγώαν καὶ δοὺς τὸ ποτήριον ἠνάγκασε πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον.

6. Ἠξιώθη δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ὁ Δαρεῖος δοκῶν πολὺ προέχειν ἀνδρείᾳ Περσῶν· Ἀρταξέρξου γάρ ποτε τοῦ βασιλέως πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Καδουσίους καί τινος τῶν Καδουσίων ἐπ' ἀλκῇ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαβεβοημένου προκαλεσαμένου τὸν βουλόμενον Περσῶν μονομαχῆσαι ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ὑπακοῦσαι, μόνος δὲ Δαρεῖος ὑποστὰς τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν προκαλεσάμενον ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως μεγάλαις ἐτιμήθη δωρεαῖς, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀπηνέγκατο.
2 διὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας νομισθεὶς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Τοιοῦτον δ' ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης παραδούσης ἀντίπαλον τῇ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρετῇ συνέβη πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συστῆναι περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων αἱ κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἕκαστα δηλώσουσιν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τρεψόμεθα.

descent to claim the throne. Instead Bagoas selected 335/4 B.C.
a certain Dareius, a member of the court circle, and secured the throne for him. He was the son of Arsanes, and grandson of that Ostanes who was a brother of Artaxerxes, who had been king.[1] As to Bagoas, an odd thing happened to him and one to point a moral. Pursuing his habitual savagery he attempted to remove Dareius by poison. The plan leaked out, however, and the king, calling upon Bagoas, as it were, to drink to him a toast and handing him his own cup compelled him to take his own medicine.

6. Dareius's selection for the throne was based on his known bravery, in which quality he far surpassed the other Persians. Once when King Artaxerxes[2] was campaigning against the Cadusians, one of them with a wide reputation for strength and courage challenged a volunteer among the Persians to fight in single combat with him. No other dared accept, but Dareius alone entered the contest and slew the challenger, being honoured in consequence by the king with rich gifts, while among the Persians he was conceded the first place in prowess. It was because of this prowess that he was thought worthy to take over the kingship. This happened about the same time as Philip died and Alexander became king.

Such was the man whom fate had selected to be the antagonist of Alexander's genius, and they opposed one another in many and great struggles for the supremacy. These our detailed narrative will describe in each case. And we may now proceed with our story.

[1] Artaxerxes II, 405–359 B.C.
[2] Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 359–338 B.C.

7. Δαρεῖος γὰρ παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸ μὲν τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀποστρέψαι· ἐκείνου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἀπελύθη τῆς ἀγωνίας,
2 καταφρονήσας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου νεότητος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ διὰ[1] τῶν πράξεων ἐνέργεια καὶ ὀξύτης ἐποίησε μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν πᾶσαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου γενέσθαι περιβόητον, τότε δὴ νουθετηθεὶς τοῖς ἔργοις ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπιμέλειαν μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο τῶν δυνάμεων, τριήρεις τε πολλὰς κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους συνιστάμενος, ἡγεμόνας τε τοὺς ἀρίστους προκρίνων, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε καὶ Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος, διαφέρων ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ.
3 τούτῳ δὲ δοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς μισθοφόρους πεντακισχιλίους προσέταξε παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ πόλιν Κύζικον καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ταύτην χειρώσασθαι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τοσούτων στρατιωτῶν προῆγε διὰ τῆς Ἴδης.

4 Τὸ δ' ὄρος τοῦτο μυθολογοῦσί τινες τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς Μελισσέως Ἴδης. μέγιστον δ' ὑπάρχον τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχει κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἄντρον θεοπρεπές, ἐν ᾧ φασι
5 κριθῆναι τὰς θεὰς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. γενέσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ λέγεται καὶ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους, οὓς σίδηρον ἐργάσασθαι πρώτους, μαθόντας τὴν ἐργασίαν παρὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν μητρός. ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ

[1] διὰ added by Kallenberg (cp. chap. 4. 5).

7. Dareius became king before the death of Philip 335/4 B.C. and thought to turn the coming war back upon Macedonia, but when Philip died, Dareius was relieved of his anxiety and despised the youth of Alexander. Soon, however, when Alexander's vigour and rapidity of action had secured for him the leadership of all Greece and made evident the ability of the young man, then Dareius took warning and began to pay serious attention to his forces. He fitted out a large number of ships of war and assembled numerous strong armies, choosing at the same time his best commanders, among whom was Memnon of Rhodes,[1] outstanding in courage and in strategic grasp. The king gave him five thousand[2] mercenaries and ordered him to march to Cyzicus and to try to get possession of it. With this force, accordingly, Memnon marched on across the range of Mt. Ida.

Some tell the story that this mountain got its name from Ida, the daughter of Melisseus.[3] It is the highest mountain in the region of the Hellespont and there is in its midst a remarkable cave in which they say the goddesses were judged by Alexander.[4] On this mountain are supposed to have lived the Idaean Dactyls who first worked iron, having learned their skill from the Mother of the Gods.[5] An odd occurrence has been observed in connection with this mountain which is known nowhere else. About the

[1] See Book 16. 52. 4.
[2] This number seems small for the task assigned Memnon, but it is hardly likely that it should be emended to 50,000, the total number of the King's Greek mercenaries (Curtius, 5. 11. 5). Polyaenus refers to Memnon's 4000 troops (5. 44. 4).
[3] Melisseus, king of Crete, is reported to have been the father of Adrasteia and Ida, to whom the infant Zeus was given to nurse (Book 5. 70. 2). See Apollodorus, 1. 1. 6.
[4] The Judgement of Paris. [5] See Book 5. 64. 3-5.

6 ὄρος. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴν ἐπ' ἄκρας
τῆς κορυφῆς διὰ τὴν νηνεμίαν τοῦ περιέχοντος
ἀέρος ὑπερπετῆ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν τῆς τῶν ἀνέμων
πνοῆς, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀνα-
τέλλοντα, τὰς ἀκτῖνας οὐκ ἐν κυκλοτερεῖ σχήματι
γεγραμμένον,[1] ἀλλὰ τὴν φλόγα κατὰ πολλοὺς τό-
πους ἔχοντα διεσπαρμένην, ὥστε δοκεῖν πυρὰ
7 πλείω θιγγάνειν τοῦ τῆς γῆς ὁρίζοντος. μετ'
ὀλίγον δὲ συνάγεται ταῦτα πρὸς ἓν μέγεθος, ἕως
ἂν γένηται τρίπλεθρον διάστημα· καὶ τότ' ἤδη τῆς
ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ φαινόμενον τοῦ ἡλίου
μέγεθος πληρωθὲν τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας διάθεσιν κατα-
σκευάζει.
8 Ὁ δ' οὖν Μέμνων διελθὼν τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἄφνω τῇ
πόλει τῶν Κυζικηνῶν προσέπεσεν καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον
αὐτῆς ἐκυρίευσεν· ἀποπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τὴν
χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ πολλῶν λαφύρων ἐκυ-
9 ρίευσεν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Παρμενίων
Γρύνιον μὲν πόλιν ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος ἐξηνδραποδί-
σατο, Πιτάνην δὲ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ Μέμνων
ἐπιφανεὶς καὶ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς Μακεδόνας
10 ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κάλλας
μὲν ἔχων Μακεδόνας καὶ μισθοφόρους στρατιώτας

[1] γεγραμμένον, after περιγεγραμμένον, Post: τετραμμένον RX: μένοντα F; συνεστραμμένον or συνέχοντα Hertlein; πέμποντα Dindorf; τετορνευμένον Fischer (cp. Plato, *Timaeus*, 7. 33 B).

---

[1] According to the calculations of Mr. Alan E. Samuel, this would be the heliacal rising of Sirius, which occurred about 20th July (P. V. Neugebauer, *Astronomische Chronologie*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1929, Vol. 2, Tables E 58-62). Professor Otto Neugebauer writes that the rising would occur between

time of the rising of the Dog Star,[1] if one stands upon 335/4 B.C.
the highest peak, the stillness of the surrounding atmosphere gives the impression that the summit is elevated above the motion of the winds, and the sun can be seen rising while it is still night. Its rays are not circumscribed in a circular orb but its flame is dispersed in many places, so that you would think that there were many patches of fire burning along the horizon. Presently, then, these draw together into one huge flame the width of which reaches three plethra.[2] Finally, as the day dawns, the usually observed size of the sun's ball is attained and produces normal daylight.[3]

Memnon traversed this mountain and suddenly falling upon the city of Cyzicus came within an ace of taking it.[4] Failing in this, he wasted its territory and collected much booty. While he was thus occupied, Parmenion took by storm the city of Grynium and sold its inhabitants as slaves, but when he besieged Pitanê [5] Memnon appeared and frightened the Macedonians into breaking off the siege. Later Callas with a mixed force of Macedonians and mer-

18th and 20th July, but that these references in the Greek authors are not to be pressed too closely.

[2] The plethron was 100 Greek feet or somewhat less than 100 English feet, and varied somewhat. It is impossible to know its precise value in Diodorus or his source.

[3] A somewhat different account of the same phenomenon is given by Pomponius Mela, 1. 18. Day began with the first appearance of the sun's rim above the horizon, and the previous streaks of light occurred while it was still, strictly speaking, night. Cp. C. Bailey on Lucretius, 3 (1947), 1426 f. (pointed out by Prof. Robert J. Getty).

[4] Reported with some details by Polyaenus, 5. 44. 5.

[5] Grynium and Pitanê were old Aeolian cities on the Bay of Elaea. Parmenion was pursuing Philip's mission of "liberation" (Book 16. 91. 2).

ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι συνῆψε μάχην πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, ὄντας πολλαπλασίους, καὶ λειφθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ῥοίτειον.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

8. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταραχὰς καταπαύσας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔθνη Θρᾴκια ταραττόμενα καταπληξάμενος ὑποταγῆναι κατηνάγκασεν, ἐπῆλθεν δὲ καὶ τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ τὰς ὁμόρους ταύταις χώρας καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν κατοικούντων βαρβάρων ἀφεστηκότας χειρωσάμενος ὑπηκόους πάντας
2 τοὺς πλησιοχώρους βαρβάρους ἐποιήσατο. περὶ ταῦτα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ παρῆσάν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεωτερίζειν καὶ πολλὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεις πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὡρμηκέναι, μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς παροξυνθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν σπεύδων τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παῦσαι ταραχάς.
3 Θηβαίων δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ φρουρὰν ἐκβάλλειν φιλοτιμουμένων καὶ πολιορκούντων τὴν ἄκραν ἧκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄφνω πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῶν Θηβῶν μετὰ πάσης
4 τῆς δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίας τὴν Καδμείαν τάφροις βαθείαις καὶ σταυρώμασι πυκνοῖς περιέβαλον ὥστε μήτε βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς δύνασθαι μήτ' ἀγορὰν εἰσ-
5 πέμψαι, πρὸς δὲ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργείους, ἔτι δὲ

---

[1] Rhoeteium is a promontory at the mouth of the Hellespont north of Ilium. Calas (as the name is properly spelled) was the son of a Harpalus, of a family prominent in the Elimiotis. Later he commanded the Thessalian cavalry in Alexander's army (chap. 17. 4), and then remained in Asia Minor as

cenaries joined battle in the Troad against a much larger force of Persians and, finding himself inferior, fell back on the promentory of Rhoeteium.[1] 335/4 B.C.

That was the situation in Asia.

8. Now that the unrest in Greece had been brought under control, Alexander shifted his field of operations into Thrace.[2] Many of the tribes in this region had risen but, terrified by his appearance, felt constrained to make their submission. Then he swung west to Paeonia and Illyria and the territories that bordered on them. Many of the local tribesmen had revolted, but these he overpowered, and established his control over all the natives in the area. This task was not yet finished when messengers reached him reporting that many of the Greeks were in revolt.[3] Many cities had actually taken steps to throw off the Macedonian alliance, the most important of these being Thebes. At this intelligence, the king was roused to return in haste to Macedonia in his anxiety to put an end to the unrest in Greece.

The Thebans [4] sought first of all to expel the Macedonian garrison from the Cadmeia and laid siege to this citadel; this was the situation when the king appeared suddenly before the city and encamped with his whole army near by. Before the king's arrival, the Thebans had had time to surround the Cadmeia with deep trenches and heavy stockades so that neither reinforcements nor supplies could be sent in, and they had sent an appeal to the Arcadians,

---

satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia; cp. Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 397.

[2] This campaign is described in detail by Arrian, 1. 1-6.

[3] Justin, 11. 2. 7-10.

[4] The siege of Thebes is described more briefly in Justin, 11. 3. 6-7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 11-12; Arrian, 1. 7-8.

Ἠλείους πρεσβεύσαντες ἠξίουν βοηθεῖν. ὁμοίως
δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρέσβευον
καὶ παρὰ Δημοσθένους ὅπλων πλῆθος ἐν δωρεαῖς
6 λαβόντες τοὺς ἀνόπλους καθώπλιζον. τῶν δ' ἐπὶ
τὴν βοήθειαν παρακεκλημένων οἱ μὲν ἐν Πελοπον-
νήσῳ στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ
διατρίβοντες ἐκαραδόκουν, προσδοκίμου τοῦ βα-
σιλέως ὄντος. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν
βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δημοσθέ-
νους, οὐ μέντοι γε τὴν δύναμιν ἐξέπεμψαν, καρα-
7 δοκοῦντες τὴν ῥοπὴν τοῦ πολέμου. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ
Καδμείᾳ φρουρᾶς ἡγούμενος Φιλώτας ὁρῶν τοὺς
Θηβαίους μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ποιουμένους πρὸς
τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὰ τείχη φιλοτιμότερον κατε-
σκεύασεν καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος ἡτοιμά-
ζετο.

9. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελπίστως ἐκ τῆς
Θρᾴκης ἧκε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, αἱ μὲν
συμμαχίαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις δισταζομένην εἶχον τὴν
παρουσίαν, ἡ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ὁμολογου-
μένην καὶ φανερὰν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὑπεροχήν. τότε δὲ
συνεδρεύσαντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες προεβουλεύσαντο περὶ
τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδοξεν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτονομίας
διαγωνίζεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐπικυρώσαντος
τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντες μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας εἶχον
ἑτοίμως διακινδυνεύειν.

2 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἦγε,
διδοὺς μετανοίας χρόνον εἰς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι καὶ
νομίζων μὴ τολμήσειν μίαν πόλιν πρὸς τηλικαύτην
3 δύναμιν παρατάξασθαι. εἶχε γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν
τρισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων,

Argives, and Eleians for help. They appealed for support from the Athenians also, and when they received from Demosthenes a free gift of weapons, they equipped all of their citizens who lacked heavy armour. Of those who were asked for reinforcements, however, the Peloponnesians sent soldiers as far as the Isthmus and waited to see what would happen, since the king's arrival was now expected, and the Athenians, under the influence of Demosthenes, voted to support the Thebans, but failed to send out their forces, waiting to see how the war would go.[1] In the Cadmeia, the garrison commander Philotas observed the Thebans making great preparations for the siege, strengthened his walls as well as he could, and made ready a stock of missiles of all sorts. 335/4 B.C.

9. So when the king appeared suddenly out of Thrace with all his army, the alliances of the Thebans had furnished them with only a hesitant support while the power of their opponents possessed an obvious and evident superiority. Nevertheless their leaders assembled in council and prepared a resolution about the war; they were unanimous in deciding to fight it out for their political freedom. The measure was passed by the assembly, and with great enthusiasm all were ready to see the thing through.

At first the king made no move, giving the Thebans time to think things over and supposing that a single city would never dare to match forces with such an army. For at that time Alexander had more than thirty thousand infantry and no less than three thousand cavalry, all battle-seasoned veterans

[1] Justin, 11. 3. 3-5; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 23. 2.

πάντας δ' ἐνηθληκότας τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ συνεστρατευμένους Φιλίππῳ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς μάχαις ἀηττήτους γεγονότας· ὧν δὴ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ προθυμίαις πεποιθὼς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεβάλετο καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν.
4 εἰ μὲν οὖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοῖς καιροῖς εἴξαντες διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ συνθέσεως, ἡδέως ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεδέξατο τὰς ἐντεύξεις καὶ πάντα ἂν ἀξιούμενος συνεχώρησεν· ἐπεθύμει γὰρ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταραχὰς ἀποτριψάμενος ἀπερίσπαστον ἔχειν τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον.

Νῦν δὲ δόξας ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων καταφρονεῖσθαι διέγνω τὴν πόλλιν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν καὶ τῷ φόβῳ τούτῳ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν ἀφίστασθαι τολμώντων ἀπο-
5 τρέψαι. διόπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἑτοίμην κατασκευάσας πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκήρυξε τὸν βουλόμενον Θηβαίων ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ μετέχειν τῆς κοινῆς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰρήνης. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διαφιλοτιμηθέντες ἀντεκήρυξαν ἀπό τινος ὑψηλοῦ πύργου τὸν βουλόμενον μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ Θηβαίων ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ καταλύειν τὸν τῆς
6 Ἑλλάδος τύραννον παριέναι[1] πρὸς αὐτούς. ὅθεν Ἀλέξανδρος περιαλγὴς γενόμενος εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν ὀργὴν προῆλθεν καὶ πάσῃ τιμωρίᾳ τοὺς Θηβαίους μετελθεῖν ἔκρινεν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀποθηριωθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν μηχανάς τε πολιορκητικὰς συνεστήσατο καὶ τἄλλα πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον παρεσκευάζετο.

of Philip's campaigns who had hardly experienced a single reverse. This was the army on the skill and loyalty of which he relied to overthrow the Persian empire. If the Thebans had yielded to the situation and had asked the Macedonians for peace and an alliance, the king would have accepted their proposals with pleasure and would have conceded everything they asked, for he was eager to be rid of these disturbances in Greece so that he might without distraction pursue the war with Persia. 335/4 B.C.

Finally, however, he realized that he was despised by the Thebans, and so decided to destroy the city utterly and by this act of terror take the heart out of anyone else who might venture to rise against him. He made his forces ready for battle, then announced through a herald that any of the Thebans who wished might come to him and enjoy the peace which was common to all the Greeks. In response, the Thebans with equal spirit proclaimed from a high tower that anyone who wished to join the Great King and Thebes in freeing the Greeks[1] and destroying the tyrant of Greece should come over to them. This epithet stung Alexander. He flew into a towering rage and declared that he would pursue the Thebans with the extremity of punishment. Raging in his heart, he set to constructing siege engines and to preparing whatever else was necessary for the attack.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 11. 4. That is, according to the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5. 1. 31). In a similar manner, the Athenians had appealed to the Greeks against Sparta in the decree of Aristoteles setting up the so-called Second Athenian League (377 B.C.; *SIG* 147).

[1] So Hultzsch : παρεῖναι.

10. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους κινδύνων ἐδυσφόρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς προσδοκωμέναις περὶ αὐτῶν συμφοραῖς, οὐ μὴν βοηθεῖν γ' ἐτόλμων τῇ πόλει διὰ τὸ προπετῶς καὶ ἀβούλως εἰς ὁμολογουμένην ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτὴν δε-
2 δωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ταῖς μὲν εὐτολμίαις προθύμως ἀνεδέχοντο τοὺς κινδύνους, φήμαις δέ τισι μάντεων καὶ θεῶν σημείοις ἠποροῦντο.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερῷ λεπτὸν ἀράχνης ὕφασμά τι διαπεπετασμένον ὤφθη, τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ἔχον ἱματίου, κύκλῳ δὲ περιφαῖνον
3 ἶριν τῇ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐοικυῖαν. περὶ οὗ τὸ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστήριον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν·

σημεῖον τόδε πᾶσι θεοὶ φαίνουσι βροτοῖσι,
Βοιωτοῖς δὲ μάλιστα καὶ οἳ περιναιετάουσι.

τὸ δὲ πάτριον τῶν Θηβαίων μαντεῖον τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν χρησμόν·

ἱστὸς ὑφαινόμενος ἄλλῳ κακόν, ἄλλῳ ἄμεινον.

4 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ σημεῖον ἐγένετο τρισὶ μησὶν ἀνωτέρω τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παρουσίας ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνδριάντες ἐφάνησαν ἱδρῶτας ἀφιέντες καὶ μεστοὶ σταλαγμῶν μεγάλων. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἧκόν τινες τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ λίμνην μυκήματι παραπλήσιον φωνὴν ἀφιέναι, τῇ δὲ Δίρκῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
5 τοῦ ὕδατος αἱματοειδῆ φρίκην ἐπιτρέχειν. ἕτεροι δὲ ἧκον ἐκ Δελφῶν μηνύοντες ὅτι ὁ ἀπὸ Φωκέων

10. Elsewhere in Greece, as people learned the seriousness of the danger hanging over the Thebans, they were distressed at their expected disaster but had no heart to help them, feeling that the city by precipitate and ill-considered action had consigned itself to evident annihilation. In Thebes itself, however, men accepted their risk willingly and with good courage, but they were puzzled by certain sayings of prophets and portents of the gods. 335/4 B.C.

First there was the light spider's web in the temple of Demeter which was observed to have spread itself out to the size of an himation, and which all about shone iridescent like a rainbow in the sky. About this, the oracle at Delphi gave them the response :

" The gods to mortals all have sent this sign ;
To the Boeotians first, and to their neighbours."

The ancestral oracle of Thebes itself had given this response :

" The woven web is bane to one, to one a boon."

This sign had occurred three months before Alexander's descent on the city, but at the very moment of the king's arrival the statues in the market place were seen to burst into perspiration and be covered with great drops of moisture. More than this, people reported to the city officials that the marsh at Onchestus was emitting a sound very like a bellow, while at Dircê a bloody ripple ran along the surface of the water. Finally, travellers coming from Delphi told how the temple which the Thebans had dedicated

ναός, ὃν ἱδρύσαντο Θηβαῖοι, ᾑματωμένην ἔχων τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁρᾶται.

Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ[1] τὴν τῶν σημείων διάκρισιν ἀσχολούμενοι σημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸ μὲν ὕφασμα θεῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρισμόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἴριδος χρῶμα πραγμάτων ποικίλων χειμῶνα, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἱδρῶτα ὑπερβάλλουσαν κακοπάθειαν, τὸ δ' ἐν πλείοσι τόποις φαινόμενον αἷμα φόνον πολὺν
6 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσόμενον. συνεβούλευον οὖν τῶν θεῶν φανερῶς σημαινόντων τὴν ἐσομένην τῇ πόλει συμφορὰν μὴ συγκαταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ διὰ μάχης κρίνειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἑτέραν δὲ διάλυσιν ζητεῖν διὰ λόγων ἀσφαλεστέραν.

Οὐ μὴν οἱ Θηβαῖοί γε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐμαλακύνοντο, τοὐναντίον δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς προαχθέντες ἀνεμίμνησκον ἀλλήλους τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις εὐημερίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρατάξεων ἐν αἷς θαυμαστῶς ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀνελπίστους νίκας περιεποιήσαντο. οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι τοῖς παραστήμασιν ἀνδρειότερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον χρησάμενοι προέπεσον εἰς πάνδημον τῆς πατρίδος ὄλεθρον.

11. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν τρισὶ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἑτοιμασάμενος[2] τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τὰς δυνά-

[1] The manuscripts are unanimous in reading ἐπὶ here and in chap. 94. 4, where we should rather expect περὶ (Books 2. 40. 4; 17. 99. 5), and editors have tended to correct accordingly.

[2] So Dindorf: ἑτοιμασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις διείλετο τὴν στρατιάν RX; ἑτοιμασάμενος πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τὰς δυνάμεις διείλετο τὴν στρατιάν F.

---

[1] The *naos* at Delphi was the great temple of Apollo which was under construction in the period 360–330 B.C. The

from the Phocian spoils was observed to have blood- 335/4 B.C.
stains on its roof.[1]

Those who made a business of interpreting such portents stated that the spider web signified the departure of the gods from the city, its iridescence meant a storm of mixed troubles, the sweating of the statues was the sign of an overwhelming catastrophe, and the appearance of blood in many places foretold a vast slaughter throughout the city. They pointed out that the gods were clearly predicting disaster for the city and recommended that the outcome of the war should not be risked upon the battlefield, but that a safer solution should be sought for in conversations.

Still the Thebans' spirits were not daunted. On the contrary they were so carried away with enthusiasm that they reminded one another of the victory at Leuctra and of the other battles where their own fighting qualities had won unhoped for victories to the astonishment of the Greek world. They indulged their nobility of spirit bravely rather than wisely, and plunged headlong into the total destruction of their country.

11. Now the king in the course of only three days made everything ready for the assault. He divided

epigraphical record is assembled by E. Bourguet in the *Fouilles de Delphes*, 3. 5 (1932). Much was done in 346 in the archonship of Damoxenus, "when peace was established," and there were Theban *naopoioi* in that year, along with many others. The Thebans had taken a hand in plundering the Phocians after Philip's victory, and the Phocians were obligated to make annual payments to restore what they had borrowed from the sanctuary (Book 16. 60. 2). But there is otherwise no suggestion that Phocian funds were applied to the temple construction, and it is quite certain that the Thebans themselves did not build or rebuild or dedicate the temple of Apollo.

μεις διείλετο εἰς τρία μέρη καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῖς χαρα-
κώμασι τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένοις
προσβάλλειν ἔταξε, τὸ δὲ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀντιτάτ-
τεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ πονοῦντι μέρει
2 τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὴν μάχην. οἱ δὲ
Θηβαῖοι τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος
ἔταξαν, τοὺς δ' ἐλευθερωθέντας οἰκέτας καὶ τοὺς
φυγάδας καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους τοῖς πρὸς τὰ τείχη
βιαζομένοις ἀντέταξαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως Μακεδόσι πολλαπλασίοις οὖσι συνάπτειν
3 μάχην πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡτοιμάζοντο. τέκνα δὲ καὶ
γυναῖκες[1] συνέτρεχον εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἱκέτευον σῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.

Ὡς δ' ἤγγισαν οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ τοῖς τεταγ-
μένοις μέρεσιν ἕκαστοι προσέπεσον, αἱ μὲν σάλ-
πιγγες ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικόν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἀμφο-
τέροις δυνάμεις ὑφ' ἕνα καιρὸν συνηλάλαξαν καὶ τὰ
κοῦφα τῶν βελῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔβαλον.
4 ταχὺ δὲ τούτων ἐξαναλωθέντων καὶ πάντων εἰς τὴν
ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους μάχην συμπεσόντων μέγας ἀγὼν
συνίστατο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μακεδόνες διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς φάλαγγος δυσυπό-
στατον εἶχον τὴν βίαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ταῖς τῶν
σωμάτων ῥώμαις ὑπερέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς
γυμνασίοις συνεχέσιν ἀθλήμασιν, ἔτι δὲ τῷ παρα-
στήματι τῆς ψυχῆς πλεονεκτοῦντες ἐνεκαρτέρουν
5 τοῖς δεινοῖς. διὸ καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πολλοὶ μὲν
κατετιτρώσκοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' ἔπιπτον ἐναντίας
λαμβάνοντες πληγάς. ὁμοῦ δ' ἦν κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς
ἀγῶσι συμπλοκὰς μυγμὸς καὶ βοὴ καὶ παρακελευ-
σμός, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Μακεδόσι μὴ καταισχῦναι τὰς
προγεγενημένας ἀνδραγαθίας, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Θη-

his forces into three parts and ordered one to attack the palisades which had been erected before the city, the second to face the Theban battle line, and the third as a reserve to support any hard pressed unit of his forces and to enter the battle in its turn. For their part, the Thebans stationed the cavalry within the palisades, assigned their enfranchised slaves, along with refugees and resident aliens, to face those who drove at the walls, and themselves made ready to fight before the city with the Macedonian force about the king which was many times their number. Their children and wives flocked to the temples and implored the gods to rescue the city from its dangers. 335/4 B.C.

When the Macedonians approached and each division encountered the opposing force of Thebans, the trumpets blew the call to arms and the troops on both sides raised the battle cry in unison and hurled their missiles at the enemy. These were soon expended and all turned to the use of the sword at close quarters, and a mighty struggle ensued. The Macedonians exerted a force that could hardly be withstood because of the numbers of their men and the weight of the phalanx, but the Thebans were superior in bodily strength and in their constant training in the gymnasium. Still more, in exaltation of spirit they were lifted out of themselves and became indifferent to personal danger. Many were wounded in both armies and not a few fell facing the blows of the enemy. The air was filled with the roar of fighters locked in the struggle, moans and shouts and exhortations: on the Macedonian side, not to be unworthy of their previous exploits,

[1] Fischer suggests καὶ γονεῖς after γυναῖκες (cp. chap. 13. 6 and Book 18. 22. 4, 24. 2).

βαίοις μὴ περιιδεῖν τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ[1] γονεῖς ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πανοίκιον ὑπὸ τοὺς Μακεδόνων θυμοὺς ὑποπεσοῦσαν, μνησθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχης[2] καὶ τῶν παρὰ πᾶσι περιβοήτων ἀνδραγαθημάτων. ἐπὶ πολὺν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀνδρείας.

12. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίους ἑτοίμως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζομένους τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας κάμνοντας τῇ μάχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐφεδρίας τεταγμένους διαδέξασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μακεδόνες ἄφνω προσπεσόντες τοῖς Θηβαίοις κατακόποις βαρεῖς
2 ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν. οὐ μὴν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῆς νίκης ἐξεχώρουν, τοὐναντίον δὲ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ προαχθέντες πάντων τῶν δεινῶν κατεφρόνουν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις προέβησαν ὥστε βοᾶν ὅτι Μακεδόνες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἥττους εἶναι Θηβαίων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων εἰωθότων ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν πολεμίων δεδιέναι τοὺς ἀκεραίους τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων οὗτοι μόνοι τότε θρασύτεροι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπῆρξαν, ὅθ' οἱ πολέμιοι διαδοχὴν ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς καταπονουμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπαθείας.

3 Ἀνυπερβλήτου δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας γινομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς κατανοήσας τινὰ πυλίδα καταλελειμμένην ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἐξαπέστειλε Περδίκκαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶν καταλαβέσθαι ταύτην καὶ

[1] *γυναῖκας καὶ* added by Radermacher.

[2] R. Laqueur (*Hermes*, 86 (1958), 261 f.) would explain the singular *μάχης* by referring to chap. 10. 6 above: Diodorus's source referred to only one battle, and Diodorus added Mantineia.

and on the Theban, not to forget children and wives 335/4 B.C.
and parents threatened with slavery and their every household lying exposed to the fury of the Macedonians, and to remember the battles of Leuctra and of Mantineia and the glorious deeds which were household words throughout Greece. So for a long time the battle remained evenly poised because of the surpassing valour of the contestants.

12. At length Alexander saw that the Thebans were still fighting unflinchingly for their freedom, but that his Macedonians were wearying in the battle, and ordered his reserve division to enter the struggle. As this suddenly struck the tired Thebans, it bore heavily against them and killed many. Still the Thebans did not concede the victory, but on the contrary, inspired by the will to win, despised all dangers. They had the courage to shout that the Macedonians now openly confessed to being their inferiors. Under normal circumstances, when an enemy attacks in relays, it is usual for soldiers to fear the fresh strength of the reinforcements, but the Thebans alone then faced their dangers ever more boldly, as the enemy sent against them new troops for those whose strength flagged with weariness.

So the Theban spirit proved unshakable here, but the king took note of a postern gate that had been deserted by its guards and hurried Perdiccas with a large detachment of troops to seize it and penetrate

4 παρεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τούτου δὲ ταχὺ τὸ
προσταχθὲν ποιήσαντος οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες διὰ τῆς
πυλίδος παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
καταπεπονηκότες μὲν τὴν πρώτην φάλαγγα τῶν
Μακεδόνων, ἀντιταχθέντες δ' εὐρώστως τῇ δευτέρᾳ
εὐέλπιδες ἦσαν περὶ τῆς νίκης· ὡς δὲ κατενόησαν
μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατειλημμένον, εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρη-
5 σαν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττο-
μένοις οἱ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ὁμοίως τοῖς
πεζοῖς συνέτρεχον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
τῶν ἰδίων συμπατοῦντες διέφθειρον, αὐτοὶ δὲ
τεταραγμένως εἰσίππευον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
διεξόδοις καὶ τάφροις τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅπλοις περι-
πίπτοντες ἐτελεύτων. οἱ δὲ τὴν Καδμείαν φρου-
ροῦντες ἐκχυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀπήντων
τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσόντες πολὺν
ἐποίουν φόνον.

13. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταλαμβανομένης πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι περιστάσεις ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἐγίνοντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μακεδόνες διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τοῦ κηρύγματος πικρότερον ἢ πολεμικώτερον προσεφέροντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν ἀφειδῶς ἀνῄρουν πάντας τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας.
2 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι τὸ φιλελεύθερον τῆς ψυχῆς διαφυλάττοντες τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχον τοῦ φιλοζωεῖν ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπισπᾶσθαι πληγάς· ἑαλωκυίας γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς Θηβαίων ἑωράθη δεηθεὶς τῶν Μακεδόνων φείσασθαι τοῦ ζῆν οὐδὲ προσέπιπτον

[1] Arrian (1. 8. 1), quoting Ptolemy, places this incident at the beginning of the siege, before any other fighting, and

into the city.[1] He quickly carried out the order and 335/4 B.C.
the Macedonians slipped through the gate into the city, while the Thebans, having worn down the first assault wave of the Macedonians, stoutly faced the second and still had high hopes of victory. When they knew that a section of the city had been taken, however, they began immediately to withdraw within the walls, but in this operation their cavalry galloped along with the infantry into the city and trampled upon and killed many of their own men; they themselves rode into the city in disorder and, encountering a maze of narrow alleys and trenches, lost their footing and fell and were killed by their own weapons. At the same time the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia burst out of the citadel, engaged the Thebans, and attacking them in their confusion made a great slaughter among them.[2]

13. So while the city was being taken, many and varied were the scenes of destruction within the walls. Enraged by the arrogance of the Theban proclamation, the Macedonians pressed upon them more furiously than is usual in war, and shrieking curses flung themselves on the wretched people, slaying all whom they met without sparing any. The Thebans, for their part, clinging desperately to their forlorn hope of victory, counted their lives as nothing and when they met a foeman, grappled with him and drew his blows upon themselves. In the capture of the city, no Theban was seen begging the Macedonians to spare his life, nor did they in ignoble fashion fall and cling

says that Perdiccas acted on his own initiative. He may have tried to repeat the manœuvre at Halicarnassus (chap. 25. 5). As later, he was presumably in command of one of the six battalions of the phalanx.

[2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 11. 5.

3 τοῖς τῶν κρατούντων γόνασιν ἀγεννῶς. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάθος ἠλεεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μῆκος ἤρκει πρὸς τὴν ὠμότητα τῆς τιμωρίας, πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐξεφορεῖτο παιδίων ὁμοῦ καὶ παρθένων ἑλκομένων καὶ τὸ τῆς τεκούσης οἰκτρὸν ἐπιβοωμένων ὄνομα.

Καθόλου[1] δὲ τῶν οἴκων σὺν ὅλαις ταῖς συγγενείαις ἁρπαζομένων πάνδημος ὑπῆρχε τῆς πόλεως ἀνδρα-
4 ποδισμός. τῶν δὲ ὑπολελειμμένων Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν κατατετρωμένοι τὰ σώματα καὶ λιποψυχοῦντες συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, συναποθνήσκοντες τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπωλείᾳ, οἱ δὲ κλάσματι δόρατος ἐρειδόμενοι συνήντων τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι τὸν ὕστατον ἀγῶνα προετίμων τὴν
5 ἐλευθερίαν τῆς σωτηρίας. πολλοῦ δὲ φόνου γενομένου καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ πάντα τόπον νεκρῶν πληρουμένης οὐκ ἦν ὅστις ἰδὼν οὐκ ἂν ἠλέησε τὰς τύχας τῶν ἀκληρούντων. καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Θεσπιεῖς καὶ Πλαταιεῖς, ἔτι δ' Ὀρχομένιοι καί τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους συστρατευόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεισέπεσον[2] εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἠτυχηκότων ἀκληρήμασιν ἐναπεδείκνυντο.

6 Διὸ καὶ πάθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὁρᾶν ἦν γινόμενα· Ἕλληνες γὰρ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνηλεῶς ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων ἐφονεύοντο, μηδεμίαν ἐντροπὴν τῆς ὁμοφώνου διαλέκτου παρεχομένης. τέλος δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπικαταλαβούσης αἱ μὲν οἰκίαι διηρπάγησαν, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταπεφευγότες μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπήγοντο.

to the knees of their conquerors. But neither did the 335/4 B.C.
agony of courage elicit pity from the foe nor did the day's length suffice for the cruelty of their vengeance. All the city was pillaged. Everywhere boys and girls were dragged into captivity as they wailed piteously the names of their mothers.

In sum, households were seized with all their members, and the city's enslavement was complete. Of the men who remained, some, wounded and dying, grappled with the foe and were slain themselves as they destroyed their enemy; others, supported only by a shattered spear, went to meet their assailants and, in their supreme struggle, held freedom dearer than life. As the slaughter mounted and every corner of the city was piled high with corpses, no one could have failed to pity the plight of the unfortunates. For even Greeks—Thespians, Plataeans and Orchomenians and some others hostile to the Thebans who had joined the king in the campaign[1]—invaded the city along with him and now demonstrated their own hatred amid the calamities of the unfortunate victims.

So it was that many terrible things befell the city. Greeks were mercilessly slain by Greeks, relatives were butchered by their own relatives, and even a common dialect induced no pity. In the end, when night finally intervened, the houses had been plundered and children and women and aged persons who had fled into the temples were torn from sanctuary and subjected to outrage without limit.

[1] Justin (11. 3. 8) names Phocians, Plataeans, Thespians, and Orchomenians; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 11. 5) and Arrian (1. 8. 8), Phocians and Plataeans only.

---

[1] So Rhodoman: καθόλων. [2] So Hertlein: συνέπεσον.

14. Τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, αἰχμάλωτα δὲ σώματα συνήχθη πλείω τῶν τρισμυρίων, χρημάτων δὲ ἄπιστον πλῆθος διεφορήθη.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας τῶν Μα-
κεδόνων ἔθαψε, πλείους ὄντας τῶν πεντακοσίων,
τοὺς δὲ συνέδρους τῶν Ἑλλήνων συναγαγὼν ἐπέ-
τρεψε τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ πῶς χρηστέον τῇ πόλει
2 τῶν Θηβαίων. προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς τῶν ἀλ-
λοτρίως διακειμένων τοῖς Θηβαίοις τινὲς ἐπεχεί-
ρουν συμβουλεύειν ἀπαραιτήτοις τιμωρίαις δεῖν
περιβαλεῖν αὐτούς, ἀπεδείκνυον δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν
βαρβάρων πεφρονηκότας κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ
γὰρ ἐπὶ Ξέρξου συμμαχοῦντας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐστρα-
τευκέναι κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μόνους τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ὡς εὐεργέτας τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
τῶν Περσῶν καὶ πρὸ τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς πρεσ-
3 βεύουσι τῶν Θηβαίων τίθεσθαι θρόνους. πολλὰ δὲ
καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διελθόντες παρώξυναν τὰς τῶν
συνέδρων ψυχὰς κατὰ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ πέρας
ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψαι, τοὺς δ'
αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας τῶν Θη-
βαίων ἀγωγίμους ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλά-
δος καὶ μηδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑποδέχεσθαι Θηβαῖον.
4 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκολούθως τῇ τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμῃ
τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψας πολὺν ἐπέστησε φόβον
τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς δ' αἰχμα-
λώτους λαφυροπωλήσας ἤθροισεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
τετρακόσια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

---

[1] The figures of the Theban losses are not elsewhere reported, and W. W. Tarn (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 356) regarded the second as conventional, referring to the figure

14. Over six thousand Thebans perished, more than thirty thousand were captured, and the amount of property plundered was unbelievable.[1] 335/4 B.C.

The king gave burial to the Macedonian dead, more than five hundred in number, and then calling a meeting of the representatives of the Greeks put before the common council the question what should be done with the city of the Thebans. When the discussion was opened, certain men who were hostile to the Thebans began to recommend that they should be visited with the direst penalties, and they pointed out that they had taken the side of the barbarians against the Greeks. For in the time of Xerxes they had actually joined forces with the Persians and campaigned against Greece, and alone of the Greeks were honoured as benefactors by the Persian kings, so that the ambassadors of the Thebans were seated on thrones set in front of the kings. They related many other details of similar tenor and so aroused the feelings of the council against the Thebans that it was finally voted to raze the city, to sell the captives, to outlaw the Theban exiles from all Greece, and to allow no Greek to offer shelter to a Theban. The king, in accordance with the decree of the council, destroyed the city, and so presented possible rebels among the Greeks with a terrible warning. By selling off the prisoners he realized a sum of four hundred and forty talents of silver.[2]

given by Arrian (2. 24. 5) after the capture of Tyre; but in that case Diodorus (chap. 46. 4) gives 13,000. Diodorus (with Justin) omits the picturesque story of Timocleia, which would not have interested Arrian. It is given by Plutarch (*Alexander*, 12).

[2] The same figure appears in a fragment of Cleitarchus (Athenaeus, 4. 148 d-f; Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen*

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἐξαιτήσοντας τῶν ῥητόρων δέκα τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένους, ὧν ὑπῆρχον ἐπιφανέστατοι Δημοσθένης καὶ Λυκοῦργος. συναχθείσης οὖν ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εἰσαχθέντων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων εἰς πολλὴν ἀγωνίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐνέπεσεν. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἔσπευδε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα τηρεῖν, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τὴν Θηβαίων ἀπώλειαν ἐκπεπληγμένος τὸ δεινὸν περίφοβος καθειστήκει, νουθετούμενος τοῖς τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀτυχήμασι.

2 Πολλῶν δὲ λόγων γινομένων κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Φωκίων μὲν ὁ χρηστός, ἀντιπολιτευόμενος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς ἐξαιτουμένους μιμήσασθαι τὰς Λεὼ[1] κόρας καὶ τὰς Ὑακινθίδας καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἑκουσίως ὑπομεῖναι ἕνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ δειλίαν ὠνείδιζε τῶν μὴ βουλομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τελευτᾶν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος τοῦτον μὲν τοῖς θορύβοις ἐξέβαλε, προσάντως ἀκούων τοὺς λόγους.
3 Δημοσθένους δὲ λόγον πεφροντισμένον διελθόντος ὁ δῆμος εἰς συμπάθειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προαχθεὶς φανερὸς ἦν σώζειν βουλόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ Δημάδης, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένην, ὥς φασι, πέντε ταλάντοις ἀρ-

[1] So Wesseling: Λεωκόρας.

Historiker, no. 137, F 1), but applying to the total wealth found in the city. This would be a rate of 88 drachmae a head for 30,000 slaves. Tarn suggests 8000, which would make the average price 330 drachmae, but there is no real evidence for the price of slaves at this time (W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*

15. After this he sent men to Athens to demand the surrender of ten[1] political leaders who had opposed his interest, the most prominent of whom were Demosthenes and Lycurgus. So an assembly was convened and the ambassadors were introduced, and after they had spoken, the people were plunged into deep distress and perplexity. They were anxious to uphold the honour of their city but at the same time they were stunned with horror at the destruction of Thebes and, warned by the calamities of their neighbours, were alarmed in face of their own danger. 335/4 B.C.

After many had spoken in the assembly, Phocion, the "Good," who was opposed to the party of Demosthenes, said that the men demanded should remember the daughters of Leôs and Hyacinthus[2] and gladly endure death so that their country would suffer no irremediable disaster, and he inveighed against the faint-heartedness and cowardice of those who would not lay down their lives for their city. The people nevertheless rejected his advice and riotously drove him from the stand, and when Demosthenes delivered a carefully prepared discourse, they were carried away with sympathy for their leaders and clearly wished to save them.

In the end, Demades, influenced, it is reported, by a bribe of five silver talents from Demosthenes's sup-

(1955), 28). Plutarch (*Alexander*, 11. 6) and Arrian (1. 9. 10) report that Alexander spared the house of Pindar.

[1] This number is given by Plutarch (*Demosthenes*, 23. 3) as from Idomeneus and Duris, but he thinks eight rather, whom he names.

[2] The Attic hero Leôs sacrificed his daughters to avert danger to the city; so also Erechtheus, whose name may lie behind the unknown Hyacinthus. Cp. Lycurgus, *C. Leocr.* 98-99; Demades, *Duod. Ann.* 37; Aeschines, *C. Ctes.* 161; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 17. See Addenda.

γυρίου, συνεβούλευε μὲν σώζειν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας,
παρανέγνω δὲ ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον φιλοτέχνως·
περιεῖχε γὰρ παραίτησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπαγ-
γελίαν τοῦ κολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἂν ὦσιν
4 ἄξιοι τιμωρίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἀποδεξάμενος
τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ Δημάδου τό τε ψήφισμα ἐκύρωσε
καὶ τὸν Δημάδην μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, δοὺς ἐντολὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν Θη-
βαίων φυγάδων ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον συγχω-
ρῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς πεφευγότας Θηβαίους ὑπο-
5 δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Δημάδης πρεσβεύσας καὶ τῇ τοῦ
λόγου δεινότητι πάντα κατεργασάμενος ἔπεισε τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
καὶ τἄλλα πάντα συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

16. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπανελθὼν
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνήγαγε
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογω-
τάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ προέθηκε βουλὴν περὶ τῆς
εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάσεως, πότε χρὴ στρατεύειν καὶ
2 τίνι τρόπῳ χειριστέον τὸν πόλεμον. τῶν δὲ περὶ
τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Παρμενίωνα συμβουλευόντων
πρότερον παιδοποιήσασθαι καὶ τότε τοῖς τηλικού-
τοις ἐγχειρεῖν ἔργοις, δραστικὸς ὢν καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν
πράξεως ἀναβολὴν ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος ἀντεῖπε
τούτοις· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἀπεφαίνετο τὸν
ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμόνα καθεσταμένον τοῦ πο-
λέμου καὶ πατρικὰς ἀνικήτους δυνάμεις παρειλη-
φότα καθῆσθαι γάμους ἐπιτελοῦντα καὶ τέκνων
3 γενέσεις ἀναμένοντα. διδάξας οὖν αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ

[1] Justin (11. 4. 9-12) adds that the exiled Athenian leaders went off to Persia, and Arrian (1. 10. 6) speaks particularly of Charidemus, while failing to mention the part played in this

porters, counselled them to save those whose lives were threatened, and read a decree that had been subtly worded. It contained a plea for the men and a promise to impose the penalty prescribed by the law, if they deserved punishment. The people approved the suggestion of Demades, passed the decree and dispatched a delegation including Demades as envoys to the king, instructing them to make a plea to Alexander in favour of the Theban fugitives as well, that he would allow the Athenians to provide a refuge for them. On this mission, Demades achieved all his objectives by the eloquence of his words and prevailed upon Alexander to absolve the men from the charges against them and to grant all the other requests of the Athenians.[1] 335/4 B.C.

16. Thereupon the king returned with his army to Macedonia, assembled his military commanders and his noblest Friends and posed for discussion the plan for crossing over to Asia. When should the campaign be started and how should he conduct the war? Antipater and Parmenion advised him to produce an heir first and then to turn his hand to so ambitious an enterprise, but Alexander was eager for action and opposed to any postponement, and spoke against them. It would be a disgrace, he pointed out, for one who had been appointed by Greece to command the war, and who had inherited his father's invincible forces, to sit at home celebrating a marriage and awaiting the birth of children.[2] He then proceeded

embassy by Demades. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 13) states that Alexander was moved by his own clemency. The mission of Demades is described by Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 23. 5.

[2] This incident is not mentioned by Justin or Arrian, or by Plutarch in the *Alexander*, but is given in the *Demosthenes*, 23. 5.

συμφέροντος καὶ παρορμήσας διὰ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις, οὓς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ προ-
4 βασιλεύσας πρῶτος κατέδειξε. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐννέα συνετέλεσεν, ἑκάστῃ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπώνυμον ἡμέραν ἀναδείξας. σκηνὴν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος ἑκατοντάκλινον τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. λαμπραῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἑστιάσας, πάσῃ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει διαδοὺς ἱερεῖα καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν ἀνήκοντα προσανέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον.

17. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Κτησικλέους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Γάιον Σουλπίκιον καὶ Λεύκιον Παπίριον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
2 αὐτὸς δὲ μακραῖς ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καταπλεύσας πρὸς τὴν Τρῳάδα χώραν πρῶτος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἠκόντισε μὲν τὸ δόρυ, πήξας δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἀφαλλόμενος παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν Ἀσίαν δέχεσθαι δορίκτη-
3 τον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τάφους τῶν ἡρώων Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναγίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἀνήκουσιν ἐτίμησεν,

[1] Arrian (1. 11. 1), after mentioning the sacrifice to Olympian Zeus, adds: "others say that he held games in honour of the Muses." That is to say, this was not mentioned by Ptolemy or (probably) Aristobulus, Arrian's primary sources.

to show them where their advantage lay and by appeals aroused their enthusiasm for the contests which lay ahead. He made lavish sacrifices to the gods at Dium in Macedonia and held the dramatic contests in honour of Zeus and the Muses which Archelaüs, one of his predecessors, had instituted.[1] He celebrated the festival for nine days, naming each day after one of the Muses. He erected a tent to hold a hundred couches[2] and invited his Friends and officers, as well as the ambassadors from the cities, to the banquet. Employing great magnificence, he entertained great numbers in person besides distributing to his entire force sacrificial animals and all else suitable for the festive occasion, and put his army in a fine humour. 335/4 B.C.

17. When Ctesicles was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Sulpicius and Lucius Papirius.[3] Alexander advanced with his army to the Hellespont and transported it from Europe to Asia. He personally sailed with sixty fighting ships to the Troad, where he flung his spear from the ship and fixed it in the ground,[4] and then leapt ashore himself the first of the Macedonians, signifying that he received Asia from the gods as a spear-won prize. He visited the tombs of the heroes Achilles, Ajax, and the rest and honoured them with offerings and other 334/3 B.C.

[2] The size of this structure may be judged from the fact that Agathocles's Hall of the Sixty Couches was one of the wonders of Sicily (Book 16. 83. 2). The tent accompanied Alexander on his expedition (Athenaeus, 12. 538 c, 539 d).

[3] Ctesicles was archon from July 334 to June 333 B.C. Broughton (1. 138 f.) lists C. Sulpicius Longus as one of the consuls of 337, and L. Papirius Crassus as one of the consuls of 336. The latter is apparently repeated in chap. 29. 1.

[4] Justin, 11. 5. 10.

αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῆς ἀκολουθούσης δυνάμεως ἀκριβῶς ἐποιήσατο.

Εὑρέθησαν δὲ πεζοὶ Μακεδόνες μὲν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, σύμμαχοι δὲ ἑπτακισχίλιοι, μισθοφόροι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι, καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων Παρμενίων
4 εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Ὀδρύσαι δὲ καὶ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ συνηκολούθουν ἑπτακισχίλιοι,[1] τοξοτῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων καλουμένων χίλιοι, ὥστε τοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους.[2] ἱππεῖς δ' ὑπῆρχον Μακεδόνες μὲν χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι, Φιλώτου τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἡγουμένου, Θετταλοὶ δὲ χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κάλλας ὁ Ἁρπάλου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ πάντες ἑξακόσιοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐρίγυιος,[3] Θρᾷκες δὲ πρόδρομοι καὶ Παίονες ἐννακόσιοι, Κάσανδρον ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα, ὥστε σύμπαντας ὑπάρχειν ἱππεῖς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τοσοῦ-
5 τοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπολελειμμένοι στρατιῶται, ὧν Ἀντίπατρος εἶχε τὴν

[1] So MSS.: πεντακισχίλιοι edd.
[2] καὶ δισχιλίους added by Fischer; the same figure is given by Justin, 11. 6. 2.
[3] So Wesseling (cp. chap. 57. 3 *et passim*): Εὐρύγυιος RXF.

---

[1] Justin, 11. 5. 12; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 15. 4; Arrian, 1. 11. 7.
[2] Diodorus is our only source for the detailed troop list of Alexander. Justin (11. 6. 2) gives simply 32,000 foot and 4500 horse; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 15. 1), 30,000-43,000 foot

appropriate marks of respect,[1] and then proceeded to make an accurate count of his accompanying forces. 334/3 B.C.

There were found to be, of infantry, twelve thousand Macedonians, seven thousand allies, and five thousand mercenaries, all of whom were under the command of Parmenion. Odrysians, Triballians, and Illyrians accompanied him to the number of seven thousand; and of archers and the so-called Agrianians one thousand, making up a total of thirty-two thousand foot soldiers. Of cavalry there were eighteen hundred Macedonians, commanded by Philotas son of Parmenion; eighteen hundred Thessalians, commanded by Callas son of Harpalus; six hundred from the rest of Greece under the command of Erigyius; and nine hundred Thracian and Paeonian scouts with Cassander in command, making a total of forty-five hundred cavalry. These were the men who crossed with Alexander to Asia.[2] The soldiers who were left behind in Europe under the command

and 4000-5000 horse; Arrian (1. 11. 3) "not much more than" 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. Plutarch (*De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 3. 327 D/E) states that Aristobulus gave 30,000 foot and 4000 horse, Ptolemy 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, and Anaximenes 43,000 foot and 5500 horse. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 15. 1) adds that Alexander had with him only seventy talents (from Aristobulus) and provisions for thirty days (Duris), while Onesicritus stated that he was in debt in the amount of 200 talents. It will be noted that Diodorus's figures for the cavalry add up to 5100, and not to 4500, as stated.

Diodorus correctly states that Philotas commanded the Companion Cavalry and Callas the Thessalians, but Erigyius did not get command of the Allied Cavalry until the arrest of Alexander of Lyncestis in the winter of 334/3. "Cassander" is a mistake, or he is otherwise unknown; Ariston commanded the Scouts at the Granicus and later (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, nos. 138 and 302).

ἡγεμονίαν, πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπῆρχον μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς[1] δὲ χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι.

6 Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναζεύξαντος ἐκ τῆς Τρῳάδος καὶ καταντήσαντος πρὸς τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ μὲν θύτης Ἀλέξανδρος[2] κατανοήσας πρὸ τοῦ νεὼ κειμένην εἰκόνα χαμαὶ τοῦ Φρυγίας ποτὲ σατραπεύσαντος Ἀριοβαρζάνου καί τινων οἰωνῶν αἰσίων ἄλλων ἐπιγενομένων προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτὸν ἱππομαχίᾳ μεγάλῃ διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ μάλιστ', ἂν τύχῃ περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἀγωνισάμενος.
7 προσετίθει δὲ καὶ διότι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἀποκτενεῖ[3] μαχόμενος ἐν παρατάξει στρατηγὸν ἐπιφανῆ τῶν πολεμίων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν καὶ συνεργήσειν ἐν[4] τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν.

18. Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν τοῦ μάντεως πρόρρησιν τῇ μὲν Ἀθηνᾷ λαμπρὰν ἐπετέλεσε θυσίαν καὶ τὸ μὲν ἴδιον ὅπλον ἀνέθηκε τῇ θεῷ, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ νεῷ κειμένων ὅπλων τὸ κράτιστον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τούτῳ καθοπλισθεὶς ἐχρήσατο κατὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην, ἣν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας κρίνας περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν νίκην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἐπράχθη.

[1] So Rhodoman: ἱππεῖς δὲ μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι.
[2] So MSS.: Ἀλεξάνδρου Rhodoman.
[3] So edd.: ἀποκτείνει.
[4] ἐν added by Kallenbach.

of Antipater numbered twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse.[1] 334/3 B.C.

As the king began his march out of the Troad and came to the sanctuary of Athena,[2] the sacrificant named Alexander noticed in front of the temple a statue of Ariobarzanes,[3] a former satrap of Phrygia, lying fallen on the ground, together with some other favourable omens that occurred. He came to the king and affirmed that he would be victor in a great cavalry battle and especially if he happened to fight within the confines of Phrygia; he added that the king with his own hands would slay in battle a distinguished general of the enemy. Such, he said, were the portents the gods disclosed to him, and particularly Athena who would help him in his success.

18. Alexander welcomed the prediction of the seer and made a splendid sacrifice to Athena, dedicating his own armour to the goddess. Then, taking the finest of the panoplies deposited in the temple, he put it on and used it in his first battle.[4] And this he did in fact decide through his own personal fighting ability and won a resounding victory. But this did not take place till a few days later.

[1] These figures are not given elsewhere.
[2] The well-known temple at Ilium (Arrian, 1. 11. 7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 15. 4).
[3] It may be that Diodorus has garbled his source; no sacrificant Alexander is otherwise mentioned, and this may be a mistake for Aristander (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 117). Ariobarzanes was satrap of Phrygia in 388–361 B.C., and then arrested and punished as a rebel. His statue may have been overthrown at that time.
[4] Cp. chap. 21. 2, below, and Arrian, 1. 11. 7-8, who states that the arms were carried before him into battle. The shield was carried by Peucestes in the assault on the citadel of the Malli in 325 (Arrian, 6. 9. 3).

2 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν σατράπαι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ μὲν κωλῦσαι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν διάβασιν ὑστέρησαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς χρὴ διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. Μέμνων μὲν οὖν ὁ Ῥόδιος, διαβεβοημένος ἐπὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ, συνεβούλευε κατὰ στόμα μὲν μὴ διακινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ χώραν φθείρειν καὶ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἴργειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας τῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν πορείας, διαβιβάζειν δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ναυτικάς τε καὶ πεζικὰς καὶ τὸν ὅλον πόλε-
3 μον εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην μεταγαγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἄριστα μὲν συνεβούλευεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐγενήθη φανερόν, οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας, ὡς ἀνάξια συμβουλεύων τῆς Περσῶν
4 μεγαλοψυχίας. διόπερ ἐπικρατούσης τῆς τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι γνώμης οὗτοι μὲν τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι γενόμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων προῆγον ἐπὶ Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου.[1] κατεστρατοπέδευσαν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμόν, προβαλλόμενοι τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ προειρημένου ποταμοῦ.

19. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τὴν συνδρομὴν τῶν βαρβαρικῶν δυνάμεων προῆγε καὶ σύντομον τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε ἀνὰ μέσον ῥεῖν τῶν παρεμβολῶν
2 τὸν Γρανικόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τὴν ὑπώρειαν κατειλημμένοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, κεκρικότες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιθέσθαι κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ διεσπασμένης τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγος ῥᾳδίως προτερήσειν ὑπελάμβανον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ·

Meanwhile, the Persian satraps and generals had 331/3 B.C.
not acted in time to prevent the crossing of the Macedonians,[1] but they mustered their forces and took counsel how to oppose Alexander. Memnon, the Rhodian, famed for his military competence, advocated a policy of not fighting a pitched battle, but of stripping the countryside and through the shortage of supplies preventing the Macedonians from advancing further, while at the same time they sent naval and land forces across to Macedonia and transferred the impact of war to Europe.[2] This was the best counsel, as after-events made clear, but, for all that, Memnon failed to win over the other commanders, since his advice seemed beneath the dignity of the Persians. So they decided to fight it out, and summoning forces from every quarter and heavily outnumbering the Macedonians, they advanced in the direction of Hellespontine Phrygia. They pitched camp by the river Granicus, using the bed of the river as a line of defence.

19. When Alexander learned of the concentration of the Persian forces, he advanced rapidly and encamped opposite the enemy, so that the Granicus flowed between the encampments. The Persians, resting on high ground, made no move, intending to fall upon the foe as he crossed the river, for they supposed they could easily carry the day when the Macedonian

[1] The battle of the Granicus is described by Justin (11. 6. 8-13), Plutarch (*Alexander*, 16), and Arrian (1. 12. 6–16. 7). A good analysis of this and Alexander's other battles is given by Major General J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (1958).

[2] Arrian, 1. 12. 9.

---

[1] Ἑλλησπόντου Wesseling ; Ἑλλήσποντον.

3 ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τεθαρρηκὼς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ περαιώσας τὴν δύναμιν ἔφθασε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν ἡρμοσμένως πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πρὸς ὅλην τὴν τάξιν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔστησαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱππέων καὶ διὰ τούτων προκινεῖν[1]
4 τὴν μάχην διεγνώκεισαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐώνυμον μέρος εἶχε Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἀρσαμένης ὁ σατράπης ἔχοντες τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀρσίτης ἐτέτακτο τοὺς ἐκ Παφλαγονίας ἔχων ἱππεῖς, ἔπειτα Σπιθροβάτης ὁ Ἰωνίας σατράπης Ὑρκανῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενος· τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐπεῖχον χίλιοι μὲν Μῆδοι, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ Ῥεομίθρους[2] ἱππεῖς καὶ Βακτριανοὶ τούτοις ἴσοι· τὸν δὲ μέσον τόπον ἐπεῖχον οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἱππεῖς, πολλοὶ μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, ἐπίλεκτοι δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἱππεῖς ὑπῆρχον πλείους
5 τῶν μυρίων. οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τῶν Περσῶν ἦσαν μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων, ὄπισθεν δ' ἐπιτε-

[1] προκινεῖν] προκρίνειν Reiske, which is certainly possible.
[2] So Freinsheim (cp. chap. 34. 5; Book 15. 92. 1; Arrian, 1. 12. 8): Ἀρρεομίθρους RX, Ἐρρεομίθρους F.

---

[1] This account of the battle differs from that of Arrian (1. 13) in two respects which cannot be reconciled. There, the attack takes place in the late afternoon and in the lower course of the Granicus, where the river flows through relatively flat country but in a deep and muddy bed. He, as Plutarch also (*Alexander*, 16), describes the action as taking place between Macedonians trying to cross and Persians holding the river bank. Diodorus, in contrast, places the battle at dawn, and lets the Macedonians cross without difficulty and engage the Persians on the far bank. Probably

phalanx was divided. But Alexander at dawn boldly brought his army across the river and deployed in good order before they could stop him.[1] In return, they posted their mass of horsemen all along the front of the Macedonians since they had decided to press the battle with these.[2] Memnon of Rhodes and the satrap Arsamenes held the left wing each with his own cavalry; Arsites was stationed next with the horsemen from Paphlagonia; then came Spithrobates satrap of Ionia at the head of the Hyrcanian cavalry. The right wing was held by a thousand Medes and two thousand horse with Rheomithres as well as Bactrians of like number.[3] Other national contingents occupied the centre, numerous and picked for their valour. In all, the cavalry amounted to more than ten thousand. The Persian foot soldiers were not fewer than one hundred thousand,[4] but they were posted behind the line and did 334/3 B.C.

he located the battle further upstream, in the foothills. According to Plutarch (*Alexander*, 16. 2), the battle would have occurred in the Macedonian month Daesius, but as that was unlucky militarily, Alexander ordered the intercalation of a second Artemisius. See further above, p. 100, note 1.

[2] The novelty of this arrangement consisted in the fact that each army placed its cavalry in front at the point of contact. This may not have been specifically planned. Alexander threw his cavalry across the river to gain a bridgehead, and the Persians naturally countered with their cavalry, so that a piecemeal engagement followed.

[3] Arsites was the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia and Spithridates of Lydia and Ionia (Arrian, 1. 12. 8). Arrian names these Persians and adds Petines and Niphates, but does not give the Persian order of battle. He gives that of the Macedonians, which Diodorus omits, in 1. 14. 1-3. Arsamenes (Arsames, Curtius, 3. 4. 3; Arrian, 2. 4. 5) was satrap of Cilicia.

[4] Justin (11. 6. 11) gives the Persian strength as 600,000, Arrian (1. 14. 4) as 20,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

ταγμένοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ὡς τῶν ἱππέων ἱκανῶν ὄντων καταπονῆσαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

6 Τῶν δ' ἱππέων παρ' ἀμφοτέροις προθύμως εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον συμπεσόντων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον μέρος ἐπέχοντες οἱ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππεῖς Παρμενίωνος ἡγουμένου τεθαρρηκότως ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν καθ' αὑτοὺς τεταγμένων, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μεθ' αὑτοῦ πρῶτος ἐφίππευσε τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ συμπλακεὶς τοῖς πολεμίοις πολὺν ἐποιεῖτο φόνον.

20. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων εὐρώστως ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν θυμοὺς ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρεταῖς ἀντιταττόντων ἡ τύχη συνήγαγεν εἰς ἕνα τόπον τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης κρίσιν.
2 ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας σατράπης Σπιθροβάτης, γένει μὲν ὢν Πέρσης, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ διαφέρων, μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἱππέων ἐπέρραξε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, ἔχων δὲ συναγωνιστὰς τεταγμένους τεσσαράκοντα συγγενεῖς ἀρεταῖς διαφόρους ἐνέκειτο τοῖς ἀνθεστηκόσι καὶ θρασέως ἀγωνιζόμενος οὓς μὲν ἀνῄρει τῶν ἀνθισταμένων,
3 οὓς δὲ κατετραυμάτιζε. δυσυποστάτου δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης βίας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸν σατράπην ἐφίππευσε τῷ βαρβάρῳ.

Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης νομίσας παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι τὸν τῆς μονομαχίας καιρόν, εἰ συμβήσεται διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐλευθερωθῆναι τῶν με-

[1] This comment is a rationalization after the event. The Persian infantry would not move up to meet the Macedonian cavalry.

not advance since the cavalry was thought to be sufficient to crush the Macedonians.[1] 334/3 B.C.

As the horse of each side joined battle spiritedly, the Thessalian cavalry posted on the left wing under the command of Parmenion gallantly met the attack of the troops posted opposite them; and Alexander, who had the finest of the riders on the right wing with him, personally led the attack upon the Persians and closing with them, began to inflict substantial losses upon them.

20. But the Persians resisted bravely and opposed their spirit to the Macedonian valour, as Fortune brought together in one and the same place the finest fighters to dispute the victory. The satrap of Ionia Spithrobates, a Persian by birth and son-in-law of King Dareius, a man of superior courage, hurled himself at the Macedonian lines with a large body of cavalry, and with an array of forty companions, all Royal Relatives[2] of outstanding valour, pressed hard on the opposite line and in a fierce attack slew some of his opponents and wounded others. As the force of this attack seemed dangerous, Alexander turned his horse toward the satrap and rode at him.[3]

To the Persian, it seemed as if this opportunity for a single combat was god-given. He hoped that by his individual gallantry Asia might be relieved of its

[2] This was an honorary title of high nobility in the Persian Empire, as later in the Hellenistic kingdoms.

[3] According to Arrian (1. 14. 6-7), Alexander opened the battle with a mixed force under Ptolemy the son of Philip, probably the one of the bodyguards who was killed at Halicarnassus. He had light troops including the Scouts under Amyntas the son of Arrhabaeus, a battalion of the phalanx, and a squadron of the Companions. His mission was to open a gap in the Persian line. Then Alexander, as usual, charged with the Companions obliquely towards the Persian centre.

γίστων φόβων τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν περιβόητον Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου τόλμαν ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ καταλυθῆναι καὶ
τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δόξαν μὴ καταισχυνθῆναι[1] φθάνει
βαλὼν τὸ σαυνίον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὕτω
μετὰ σφοδρᾶς εἰσπεσὼν ῥύμης καὶ βιαίως τὸ δόρυ
ὠσάμενος διαρρήξας τε τήν τε ἀσπίδα Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπωμίδα διήλασε διὰ τοῦ θώρακος.
4 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν βέλος τῷ βραχίονι περιελκό-
μενον ἀπέρριψε, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν τὰ κέντρα
καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ[2] τῆς φορᾶς συνεργῷ χρησάμενος εἰς
μέσον τοῦ σατράπου τὸ στῆθος ἐνήρεισε τὸ ξυστόν.
5 οὗ συντελεσθέντος αἱ μὲν πλησίον τάξεις παρ'
ἀμφοτέροις διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀνεβόη-
σαν, τῆς δ' ἐπιδορατίδος περὶ τὸν θώρακα συντρι-
βείσης καὶ τοῦ θραύσματος ἀποπηδήσαντος ὁ μὲν
Πέρσης σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
ἐπεφέρετο, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διαλαβὼν τὸ ξυστὸν ἔ-
φθασεν ἐνερεῖσαι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διήλασε τὴν
6 πληγήν. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πεσόντος
Ῥωσάκης προσιππεύσας κατήνεγκε τῷ ξίφει κατὰ
τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτως ἐπικίνδυνον πλη-
γὴν ὥστε τὸ μὲν κράνος διαπτύξαι, τοῦ δὲ χρωτὸς

[1] F omits Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . καὶ τήν, RX omit καὶ τὴν . . . καταισχυνθῆναι. No MS. has the full text printed here.
[2] So Reiske: ῥώμῃ.

---

[1] If Alexander may be assumed to have carried a shield on his left arm, it would have been possible for the javelin to pass through this and his breastplate and catch in his *epomis* on the right shoulder (not the shoulder itself, since Alexander was not wounded; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16. 5), although this would have required a remarkably violent cast, especially since the weapon, dangling from the right arm, must have passed its entire length completely through the shield. This

terrible menace, the renowned daring of Alexander 334/3 B.C. arrested by his own hands, and the glory of the Persians saved from disgrace. He hurled his javelin first at Alexander with so mighty an impulse and so powerful a cast that he pierced Alexander's shield and right epomis and drove through the breastplate.[1] The king shook off the weapon as it dangled by his arm, then applying spurs to his horse and employing the favouring momentum of his charge drove his lance squarely into the satrap's chest. At this, adjacent ranks in both armies cried out at the superlative display of prowess. The point, however, snapped off against the breastplate and the broken shaft recoiled, and the Persian drew his sword and drove at Alexander; but the king recovered his grip upon his lance in time to thrust at the man's face and drive the blow home. The Persian fell, but just at this moment, Rhosaces, his brother, galloping up brought his sword down on Alexander's head with such a fearsome blow that it split his helmet and

all suggests some exaggeration if not confusion, and it is doubtful if the Macedonian cavalry carried shields; Alexander is shown without one in the mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, which, of course, pictures the Battle of Issus, and not that at the Granicus (cp. Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1. 104, n. 4; such pictures as that in Doro Levy, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 (1947), LXIX, c, however, show that cavalry could carry shields; so also Polybius, 6. 25; but in Arrian 1. 6. 5 and 4. 23. 2, mounted troops carried shields only when they expected to fight on foot). If this shield is the same as the *hoplon* taken from Ilium and mentioned below, chap. 21. 2, it may be that, as Arrian reports (1. 11. 7-8), it was actually carried before him by an attendant (this does not, of course, make the course of the javelin any more easily explicable). In the mosaic, Alexander wears the chlamys over his breastplate, and fastened with a fibula on his right shoulder.

7 βραχέως ἐπιψαῦσαι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν διαίρεσιν ἐπιφέροντος ἄλλην πληγὴν τοῦ Ῥωσάκου Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας ἐπικαλούμενος προσελάσας τὸν ἵππον ἀπέκοψε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ βαρβάρου.

21. Περὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πεσόντων οἱ συγγενεῖς ἀθρόοι συστραφέντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠκόντιζον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ συστάδην μαχόμενοι πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ φο-
2 νεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις συνεχόμενος ὅμως οὐκ ἐνικᾶτο τοῖς πλήθεσι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν ἔχων εἰς τὸν θώρακα πληγάς, μίαν δὲ εἰς τὸ κράνος, τρεῖς δ' εἰς τὸ καθαιρεθὲν ὅπλον ἐκ τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὅμως οὐκ ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τῷ παραστήματι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπαιρόμενος παντὸς δεινοῦ κατεξανίστατο.
3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἔπεσον πλείους, ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Ἀτιζύης[1] καὶ Φαρνάκης ὁ τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, ἔτι δὲ Μιθροβουζάνης ὁ Καππαδοκῶν ἡγούμενος.
4 Διὸ καὶ πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναιρεθέντων καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν τάξεων ἁπασῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡττωμένων πρῶτον μὲν οἱ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι φυγεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τραπέντων ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ὁμολο-

[1] Ἀτιζύης RX ; Ἀτυζύης F.

[1] That is, Spithridates and Rhosaces. This incident is variously reported. In Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16. 4-5, Rhosaces and Spithridates attacked Alexander simultaneously; the king killed the former, while the latter cracked his helmet and was run through by Cleitus's spear. In Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 1. 326 F, the antagonists are Spithridates and Mithridates. In Arrian, 1. 15. 7-8,

inflicted a slight scalp wound. As Rhosaces aimed 334/3 B.C.
another blow at the same break, Cleitus, surnamed the Black, dashed up on his horse and cut off the Persian's arm.

21. The Relatives now pressed in a solid body about the two fallen men[1]; at first they rained their javelins on Alexander, and then closing went all out to slay the king. But exposed as he was to many and fierce attacks he nevertheless was not overborne by the numbers of the foe. Though he took two blows on the breastplate, one on the helmet, and three on the shield[2] which he had brought from the temple of Athena, he still did not give in, but borne up by an exaltation of spirit surmounted every danger. After this, several of the other noble Persians fighting against him fell, of whom the most illustrious were Atizyes and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius's queen, and also Mithrobuzanes who commanded the Cappadocians.[3]

Now that many of their commanders had been slain and all the Persian squadrons were worsted by the Macedonians, those facing Alexander were put to flight first, and then the others also. Thus the

Mithridates is Dareius's son-in-law. Alexander dismounted him with his lance. Rhosaces cracked Alexander's helmet but was overborne by the king, while it was Spithridates whose arm was severed by Cleitus. The text of Diodorus here might allow one to suppose that Alexander also was thrown to the ground, and a figure appearing in two of the reliefs of the Alexander Sarcophagus in Constantinople, with cracked helmet and broken spear, has been thought to be Alexander at the Battle of the Granicus, but this is all very uncertain.

[2] Cp. chap. 18. 1 above.

[3] Arrian, 1. 16. 3, gives a longer list of Persian casualties, but omits the name of Atizyes. Diodorus gives this name also among the Persians who fell at Issus (chap. 34. 5).

γούμενον τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας τὸ πρωτεῖον[1] ἀπηνέγκατο καὶ τῆς ὅλης νίκης ἔδοξε μάλιστ' αἴτιος γεγονέναι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἱ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστα ταῖς εἴλαις χρώμενοι καὶ διαφόρως ἀγωνισάμενοι
5 μεγάλην ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ δόξαν ἔσχον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἱππέων τροπὴν οἱ πεζοὶ συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις ὀλίγον χρόνον ἠγωνίσαντο· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱππέων τροπὴν καταπλαγέντες καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
6 ἐνδόντες πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἀνῃρέθησαν δὲ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ πάντες πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους δισχιλίων, ἐζωγρήθησαν δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς, σπεύδων διὰ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τοὺς στρατιώτας προθυμοτέρους κατασκευάσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις κινδύνους.

7 Αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγε διὰ τῆς Λυδίας, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν Σαρδιανῶν πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε Μιθρίνους[2] τοῦ σατράπου παραδόντος ἑκουσίως.

22. Εἰς δὲ τὴν Μίλητον συμπεφευγότων τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης Περσῶν μετὰ Μέμνονος

[1] So Stephanus: πρώτιστον.
[2] So X: Μιθρίννους R, Μιθρήνους F; cp. chap. 64. 6; Arrian, 1. 17. 3, 3. 16. 5.

[1] By allowing their entire cavalry force to be first contained and then routed by the Macedonians, the Persian commanders left their infantry without protection from the flanks and rear, and with little chance of withdrawal. Arrian (1. 16. 2) speaks only of the annihilation of the Greek mercenary phalanx. According to Diodorus, the Persian infantry would

king by common consent won the palm for bravery 334/3 B.C.
and was regarded as the chief author of the victory, and next to him the Thessalian cavalry won a great reputation for valour because of the skilful handling of their squadrons and their unmatched fighting quality. After the rout of the cavalry, the foot soldiers engaged one another in a contest that was soon ended. For the Persians, dismayed by the rout of the cavalry and shaken in spirit, were quick to flee.[1] The total of the Persian infantry killed was more than ten thousand; of the cavalry not less than two thousand; and there were taken alive upwards of twenty thousand.[2] After the battle the king gave magnificent obsequies to the dead,[3] for he thought it important by this sort of honour to create in his men greater enthusiasm to face the hazards of battle.

Recovering his forces, Alexander led them down through Lydia and took over the city of the Sardians with its citadels and, what is more, the treasures stored therein, for Mithrines the satrap surrendered them without resistance.[4]

22. Since the Persian survivors of the battle together with the general Memnon had taken refuge

have got away with a loss of some thirty per cent of its effectives.

[2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16. 7, gives the Persian casualties as 2500 horse and 20,000 foot; Arrian as 1000 horse and the most of the Greek phalanx, except for 2000 who were captured.

[3] The Macedonian casualties were 9 foot and 120 horse (Justin, 11. 6. 12), 9 foot and 25 horse (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16. 7), or 30 foot and 60 horse (including 25 "Companions," Arrian, 1. 16. 4). These were honoured with statues (Justin, Plutarch, Arrian, *ll.cc.*; Velleius Paterculus, 1. 11. 3-4).

[4] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 17. 1. The account of Arrian, 1. 17–18. 2, is fuller.

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς πλησίον τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύσας καθ' ἡμέραν συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς
2 τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιεῖτο, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἠμύνοντο, πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἠθροισμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, βελῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν χρησίμων δαψιλῆ χορηγίαν ἔχοντες·
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς φιλοτιμότερον ταῖς τε μηχαναῖς ἐσάλευε τὰ τείχη καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐνεργεστάτην ἐποιεῖτο κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οἵ τε Μακεδόνες διὰ τῶν πιπτόντων τειχῶν εἰσεβιάζοντο, τηνικαῦτα κατισχυόμενοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο.
4 εὐθὺ δ' οἱ Μιλήσιοι μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσπίπτοντες παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνῃρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπίπτοντες
5 ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἥλωσαν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν Μιλησίοις φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο. τῆς δὲ ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως οὔσης ἀχρήστου καὶ δαπάνας μεγάλας ἐχούσης κατέλυσε τὸ ναυτικὸν πλὴν ὀλίγων νεῶν, αἷς ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὴν παρακομιδὴν τῶν πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν αἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων νῆες συμμαχίδες εἴκοσιν.

23. Ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στρατηγικῶς ἐπινοῆσαι τὴν τοῦ στόλου κατάλυσιν· προσδοκίμου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ μελλούσης μεγάλης παρατάξεως συντελεῖσθαι νομίσαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐκθυμότερον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι παραιρεθείσης
2 τῆς κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐλπίδος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πρᾶξαι

Plutarch, *Alexander*, 17. 1 ; Arrian, 1. 18. 3–19. 6.

in Miletus, the king set up camp near the city and every day, using his men in relays, made continuous assaults on the walls. At first the besieged easily defended themselves from the walls, for many soldiers were gathered in the city, and they had abundant provision of missiles and other things useful for the emergency. But when the king, in a more determined fashion, brought up siege engines and rocked the walls and pressed the siege very actively both by land and by sea, and the Macedonians forced an entry through the crumbling walls, then at last yielding to superior force, they took to flight. Immediately the Milesians, falling before the king with suppliant olive boughs, put themselves and their city into his hands. Some of the Persians were slain by the Macedonians, others, breaking out of the city, sought refuge in flight, and all the remainder were taken captive. Alexander treated the Milesians kindly but sold all the rest as slaves.[1] Since the naval force was now useless and entailed great expense, he dismissed the fleet with the exception of a few ships which he employed for the transport of his siege engines. Among these was the Athenian contingent of twenty ships.[2] 334/3 B.C.

23. There are those who say that Alexander's strategic conception was sound, when he dismissed his fleet. For Dareius was still to be reckoned with and there was bound to be a great battle, and he judged that the Macedonians would fight more desperately if he deprived them of all hope of escape by flight. He employed the same device, they say, at

[2] Arrian, 1. 20. 1. Naval operations were resumed six months later under the command of Hegelochus and Amphoterus (Curtius, 3. 1. 19).

κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ μάχην· κατὰ νώτου γὰρ λαβεῖν τὸν ποταμόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐπιβάληται φεύγειν προδήλου τῆς ἀπωλείας οὔσης τῶν διωκομένων ἐν τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥείθρῳ. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν Συρακοσίων βασιλέα μιμησάμενον τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγίαν
3 ἀνέλπιστον καὶ μεγάλην νίκην περιποιήσασθαι· διαβάντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς Λιβύην μετ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσαντα παρελέσθαι μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν ἐλπίδας, συναναγκάσαι δὲ γενναίως ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Καρχηδονίων ἀντιταχθέντων πολλαῖς μυριάσι νικῆσαι.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Μιλήτου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἔτι δ' οἱ πρακτικώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων συνέδραμον εἰς τὴν Ἁλικαρνασσόν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν ἦν, βασίλεια μὲν ἐσχηκυῖα τὰ Καρῶν,
5 ἀκροπόλεσι δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένη. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Μέμνων μὲν τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἔπεμψε καὶ τούτῳ παραθέμενος ἅμα μὲν ὑπέλαβε τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν καλῶς πεπρονοῆσθαι, ἅμα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καλοὺς ὁμήρους ἔχοντα προθυμότερον ἐμπιστεύσειν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν
6 ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. εὐθὺς γὰρ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν οἰκοῦντας, προστάττων ἅπαντας ὑπακούειν τῷ Μέμνονι. διόπερ οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν παρεσκευάζετο πάντα τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἁλικαρνασσέων.

24. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ μὲν πολιορ-

the battle of the Granicus, where he placed the stream 331/3 B.C.
at his rear, for no one could think of flight when destruction of any who were followed into the bed of the river was a certainty. There is also, they note, in later years the case of Agathocles, king of the Syracusans, who copied the strategy of Alexander and won an unexpected and decisive victory. He had crossed to Libya with a small force and by burning his ships deprived his men of any hope of escape by flight, thus constraining them to fight like heroes and thereby win a victory over the Carthaginians, who had an army numbering many tens of thousands.[1]

After the capture of Miletus, the bulk of the Persians and mercenaries, as well as the most enterprising of the commanders, concentrated their forces at Halicarnassus. This was the largest city in Caria, containing the palace of the kings of the Carians, and was well provided with interior fortresses. About the same time Memnon sent his wife[2] and children to Dareius, because he calculated that leaving them in the king's care was a good way to ensure their safety, while at the same time the king, now that he had good hostages, would be more willing to entrust Memnon with the supreme command. And so it turned out. For Dareius straightway sent letters to those who dwelt next the sea, directing them one and all to take orders from Memnon. Accordingly, having assumed the supreme command, he made all the necessary dispositions for a siege in the city of the Halicarnassians.

24. King Alexander had his siege engines and pro-

[1] See Book 20. 7.

[2] This wife, Barsinê the daughter of Artabazus, was captured after Issus and was believed later to have born Alexander a son, Heracles.

κητικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ σῖτον κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκόμισεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁλικαρνασσόν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ πόλεις προσήγετο ταῖς φιλανθρωπίαις· μάλιστα δ' εὐεργέτει τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ποιῶν αὐτὰς αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους, προσεπιλέγων ὅτι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερώσεως
2 ἕνεκα τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐπανῄρηται. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀπήντησέν τι γύναιον, ὄνομα μὲν Ἄδα, γένει δὲ προσήκουσα τῇ Καρῶν ἀρχῇ. ἐντυχούσης δ' αὐτῆς περὶ τῆς προγονικῆς δυναστείας καὶ δεηθείσης βοηθῆσαι ταύτην μὲν ἐκέλευσε παραλαβεῖν τὴν τῆς Καρίας ἀρχήν, τοὺς δὲ Κᾶρας ἰδίους ἐποιήσατο ταῖς εὐνοίαις διὰ
3 τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης εὐεργεσίαν· εὐθὺς γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλουσαι χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐτίμησαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα συμπράττειν ἐπηγγείλαντο.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πλησίον τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύσας συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν ἐνεργὸν καὶ
4 καταπληκτικήν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τοῖς τείχεσι προσβολὰς συνεχεῖς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ διημέρευεν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παντοδαπὰς μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσας καὶ τὰς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τάφρους χωστρίσι[1] χελώναις ἀναπληρώσας διὰ τῶν κριῶν ἐσάλευε τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ μεσοπύργια. καταβαλὼν δὲ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη διὰ τῆς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχης ἐβιάζετο διὰ

[1] So Fischer (cp. Book 2. 27. 1): τρισί.

[1] Arrian, 1. 23. 7-8. Ada had been "dynast" of Caria previously on the death of her elder brother and husband,

visions conveyed by sea to Halicarnassus while he himself with all his army marched into Caria, winning over the cities that lay on his route by kind treatment. He was particularly generous to the Greek cities, granting them independence and exemption from taxation, adding the assurance that the freedom of the Greeks was the object for which he had taken upon himself the war against the Persians. On his journey he was met by a woman named Ada, who belonged by blood to the ruling house of Caria.[1] When she presented a petition to recover the position of her ancestors and requested his assistance, he gave orders that she should become the ruler of Caria. Thus he won the loyal support of the Carians by the favour that he bestowed on this woman. For straightway all the cities sent missions and presented the king with golden crowns and promised to co-operate with him in everything. 334/3 B.C.

Alexander encamped near the city and set in motion an active and formidable siege.[2] At first he made continued assaults on the walls with relays of attackers and spent whole days in active fighting. Later he brought up all sorts of engines of war, filled in the trenches in front of the city with the aid of sheds to protect the workers, and rocked the towers and the curtains between them with his battering rams. Whenever he overthrew a portion of the wall, he attempted by hand-to-hand fighting to force an

Idrieus (Book 16. 69. 2) but had been ousted by her younger brother Pixodarus (Book 16. 74. 2; cp. Strabo, 14. 2. 17. 657).

[2] Arrian, 1. 20. 5–23. 6. Diodorus omits Alexander's abortive attack on Myndus (Arrian, 1. 20. 5-7), and his narrative is told rather from the Persian than from the Macedonian side (W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 (1948), 73 f.)

5 τοῦ πτώματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσπεσεῖν. Μέμνων
δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς προσβάλλοντας τοῖς τείχεσι
Μακεδόνας ῥᾳδίως ἠμύνετο, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ
πόλει στρατιωτῶν· κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀργάνων
προσβολὰς μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκχεόμενος
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως νυκτὸς πῦρ ἐνέβαλλε ταῖς μηχαναῖς.
6 μεγάλων δ' ἀγώνων πρὸ τῆς πόλεως συνισταμένων
οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πολὺ προεῖχον, οἱ
δὲ Πέρσαι τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐπλεο-
νέκτουν· συνήργουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν
συναγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καταπέλταις
οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινον τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς δὲ κατε-
τίτρωσκον.

25. Ὁμοῦ δὲ αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον παρ'
ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ βοὴ πανταχόθεν ἐγί-
νετο, συνεπισημαινομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς
2 παρ' ἑκατέρων ἀνδραγαθίαις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐν
ταῖς μηχαναῖς αἰρομένην εἰς ὕψος φλόγα κατέπαυον,
οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας συμπλεκόμενοι πολὺν ἐποίουν φό-
νον, ἄλλοι δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πιπτόντων τειχῶν ἀντῳκο-
δόμουν ἕτερα τείχη πολὺ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων
3 βαρύτερα ταῖς παρασκευαῖς. τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων
τῶν περὶ τὸν Μέμνονα προκινδυνευόντων καὶ με-
γάλας δωρεὰς διδόντων τοῖς ἀνδραγαθοῦσιν ἀν-
υπέρβλητος φιλοτιμία παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίνετο περὶ
4 τῆς νίκης. διὸ καὶ παρῆν ὁρᾶν τοὺς μὲν τραύμασιν
ἐναντίοις περιπίπτοντας καὶ κατὰ τὰς λιποψυχίας
ἀποφερομένους ἐκ τῆς μάχης, τοὺς δὲ περιβαίνοντας
τὰ πίπτοντα σώματα καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀναιρέ-
σεως μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συνισταμένους, ἄλλους δὲ
διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν δεινῶν ἐνδιδόντας ἤδη καὶ
διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρακλήσεως πάλιν

entry into the city over the rubble. But Memnon at 334/3 B.C.
first easily beat off the Macedonians assaulting the walls, for he had large numbers of men in the city. Where the siege engines were attacking, he issued from the city at night with numbers of soldiers and applied fire to the machines. Fierce fights occurred in front of the city, in which the Macedonians showed far superior prowess, but the Persians had the advantage of numbers and of fire power. For they had the support of men who fought from the walls using engines to shoot darts, with which they killed some of the enemy and disabled others.

25. At the same moment, the trumpets sounded the battle signal on both sides and cheers came from all parts as the soldiers applauded in concert the feats of brave men on one side or the other. Some tried to put out the fires that rose aloft among the siege engines; others joined with the foe in close combat and wrought great slaughter; others erected secondary walls behind those which crumbled, heavier by far in construction than the preceding. The commanders under Memnon took their places in the front line and offered great rewards to those who distinguished themselves, so that the desire for victory rose very high on both sides. There could be seen men encountering frontal wounds or being carried unconscious out of the battle, others standing over the fallen bodies of their companions and struggling mightily to recover them, while others who were on the point of yielding to the storm of terrors were again put in heart by the appeals of their officers and

θαρροῦντας καὶ νεαροὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γινομένους.
5 τέλος δὲ πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς πύλαις ἔπεσόν τινες τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Νεοπτόλεμος ἡγεμών, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δύο μὲν πύργων εἰς ἔδαφος καθηρημένων καὶ δυεῖν μεσοπυργίων ἐρριμμένων τῶν μὲν Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν τινες μεθυσθέντες προπετῶς νυκτὸς προσέβαλλον τοῖς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τείχεσιν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μέμνονα συννοήσαντες τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν προσβαλλόντων καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ τῷ πλήθει πολὺ προέχοντες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς Μακε-
6 δόνας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐξεβοήθουν πολλοὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ μεγάλης μάχης γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιφανέντων οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι βιασθέντες συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς πεσόντας πρὸ τοῦ τείχους Μακεδόνας διακηρυκευσάμενος ᾔτησεν ὑποσπόνδους. Ἐφιάλτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θρασύβουλος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συμμαχοῦντες τοῖς Πέρσαις συνεβούλευον μὴ διδόναι τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς ταφήν, ὁ δὲ Μέμνων συνεχώρησε.

26. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἐφιάλτης βουλευομένων τῶν ἡγεμόνων συνεβούλευε μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως αἰχμάλωτοι καταστῶσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας προκινδυνεύοντας τῶν μισ-

[1] According to Arrian (1. 20. 10), Neoptolemus, the son of Arrhabaeus and brother of that Amyntas who accompanied Alexander as a staff officer (Arrian, 1. 12. 7 ; 14. 1 ; 28. 4), had deserted to the Persians and was killed in the attack on Halicarnassus. Diodorus here places him on the Macedonian

were renewed in spirit. At length, some of the Macedonians were killed at the very gates, among them an officer Neoptolemus, a man of distinguished family.[1] 334/3 B.C.

Presently two towers were levelled with the ground and two curtains overthrown, and some of Perdiccas's soldiers, getting drunk, made a wild night attack on the walls of the citadel.[2] Memnon's men noticed the awkwardness of these attackers and issuing forth themselves in considerably larger numbers routed the Macedonians and killed many of them. As this situation became known, large numbers of Macedonians rushed up to help and a great struggle took place, and when Alexander and his staff came up, the Persians, forced back, were confined within the city, and the king through a herald asked for a truce to recover the Macedonians who had fallen in front of the walls. Now Ephialtes and Thrasybulus,[3] Athenians fighting on the Persian side, advised not to give up the dead bodies for burial, but Memnon granted the request.

26. After this at a council of the commanders, Ephialtes advised them not to wait till the city was taken and they found themselves captives ; he proposed that the leaders of the mercenaries should go out themselves in the front rank and lead an attack

side—and in view of the continued trust reposed by Alexander in his brother, this is a more reasonable account.

[2] Two men only of Perdiccas's battalion ; the event took place some days later (Arrian, 1. 21. 1). Was Perdiccas trying to repeat his success at Thebes (chap. 12. 3) ? It was the kind of exploit which Alexander would reward liberally. The drunkenness may have been a fiction, since Perdiccas acted without orders.

[3] Two of the Athenian generals whose surrender had been demanded after the capture of Thebes (chap. 15. 1). Cp. *Realencyclopädie*, 5 (1905), 2852 f. ; 5 A (1936), 575. Arrian (1. 10. 4) mentions Ephialtes but not Thrasybulus.

2 θοφόρων[1] ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δὲ Μέμνων
ὁρῶν τὸν Ἐφιάλτην πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὁρμώμενον καὶ
μεγάλας ἔχων ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ῥώμην συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ
3 πράττειν ὃ βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ δισχιλίους τῶν μισθο-
φόρων ἐπιλέκτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι δια-
δοὺς δᾷδας ἡμμένας τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀντιτάξας τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἄφνω τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀνεπέτασεν.
ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τούτων ἐκχυθεὶς τοῖς μὲν μη-
χανήμασιν ἐνῆκε πῦρ καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλὴν
4 συνέβη γενέσθαι φλόγα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐν βαθείᾳ
φάλαγγι πεπυκνωμένων αὐτὸς προηγεῖτο καὶ τοῖς
ἐκβοηθοῦσι Μακεδόσιν ἐπέρραξεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
κατανοήσας τὸ γινόμενον τοὺς μὲν προμάχους τῶν
Μακεδόνων πρώτους ἔταξε, ἐφέδρους δ'[2] ἔστησε
τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τρίτους ἐπέταξεν
ἑτέρους τοὺς ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπεράγοντας. αὐτὸς
δὲ πρὸ πάντων τούτων ἡγούμενος ὑπέστη τοὺς
πολεμίους, δόξαντας διὰ τὸ βάρος ἀκαταγωνίστους
εἶναι. ἐξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατασβέσοντας τὴν
φλόγα καὶ βοηθήσοντας ταῖς μηχαναῖς.

5 Ἅμα δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τῆς τε βοῆς ἐξαισίου
γινομένης καὶ τῶν σαλπίγγων σημαινουσῶν τὸ
πολεμικὸν μέγας ἀγὼν συνέστη διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν
ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλοτιμίας.
6 τὸ μὲν οὖν πῦρ ἐκώλυσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπινεμη-
θῆναι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐπλεονέκτουν οἱ περὶ τὸν

[1] So MSS.: μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων Rhodoman and Wesseling (cp. Book 11. 31. 2).

on the enemy.[1] Memnon recognized that Ephialtes was eager to prove himself and, having great hopes of him because of his courage and bodily strength, allowed him to do as he wished. Accordingly he collected two thousand picked men and, giving half of them lighted torches and forming the others so as to meet the enemy, he suddenly threw all the gates wide open. It was daybreak, and sallying forth with his band he employed the one group to set fire to the siege engines, causing a great conflagration to flame up at once,[2] while he personally led the rest deployed in a dense phalanx many ranks deep and charged the Macedonians as they issued forth to help extinguish the fire. When the king saw what was happening, he placed the best fighters of the Macedonians in front and stationed picked men in reserve. Behind these he posted a third group also consisting of others who had a good record for stout fighting. He himself[3] at the head of all took command and made a stand against the enemy, who had supposed that because of their mass they would be invincible. He also sent men out to extinguish the fire and to rescue the siege engines. 334/3 B.C.

As violent shouts arose at the same time on both sides and the trumpets sounded the attack, a terrific contest ensued because of the valour of the contestants and their consummate fighting spirit. The Macedonians prevented the fire from spreading, but Ephialtes's men had the advantage in the battle,

[1] Arrian mentions two sallies of the besieged, one or the other of which may be identified with this (1. 21. 5-6; 22. 1-3). [2] Arrian, 1. 22. 1. [3] Arrian, 1. 21. 5.

[2] ἐφέδρους δ' Dindorf, τούτοις δ' ἐφέδρους Reiske; τοὺς δ' ἐφέδρους RX, πρὸς τοὺς ἐφέδρους δὲ F.

Ἐφιάλτην· οὗτος γὰρ πολὺ προέχων τῶν ἄλλων
τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς ἀνῄρει τῶν εἰς
χεῖρας ἐρχομένων. οἵ τ' ἐφεστῶτες ἐπὶ τῷ προσφά-
τως ἀντικατασκευασθέντι τείχει πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν
πυκνοῖς τοῖς βέλεσι χρώμενοι· ἑκατὸν γὰρ πηχῶν
τὸ ὕψος πύργος ξύλινος κατεσκεύαστο, πλήρης
7 καταπελτῶν ὀξυβελῶν. πολλῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων
πιπτόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναχωρούντων διὰ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν, τοῦ τε Μέμνονος πολλαπλασίοις
στρατιώταις ἐπιβοηθοῦντος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς
εἰς πολλὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτεν.

27. Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατισχυόντων
παραδόξως ὁ κίνδυνος παλίντροπον τὴν μάχην
ἔσχεν. οἱ γὰρ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων, διὰ
μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπολελυμένοι τῶν κινδύνων, συν-
εστρατευμένοι δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ πολλὰς μάχας
2 κατωρθωκότες, ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν εἰς ἀλκὴν προ-
εκλήθησαν, φρονήματι δὲ καὶ ταῖς κατὰ πόλεμον
ἐμπειρίαις πολὺ προέχοντες τοῖς μὲν φυγομαχοῦσι
νεωτέροις πικρῶς ὠνείδισαν τὴν ἀνανδρίαν, αὐτοὶ
δὲ συναθροισθέντες καὶ συνασπίσαντες ὑπέστησαν
3 τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἤδη νενικηκέναι. τέλος δὲ τόν τε
Ἐφιάλτην καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἀνελόντες τοὺς λοι-
4 ποὺς ἠνάγκασαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συμφυγεῖν. οἱ δὲ
Μακεδόνες τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης τοῖς φεύγουσι
συνεισέπεσον ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν· τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως
κελεύσαντος σημῆναι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἀνεχώρησαν
5 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μέμνονα
στρατηγοὶ καὶ σατράπαι συνελθόντες ἔγνωσαν τὴν

and he himself, who had far greater bodily strength than the rest, slew with his own hand many who traded blows with him. From the top of the recently erected replacement wall, the defenders slew many of the Macedonians with dense showers of missiles —for there had been erected a wooden tower, a hundred cubits high, which was filled with dart-hurling catapults. As many Macedonians fell and the rest recoiled before the thick fire of missiles, Memnon threw himself into the battle with heavy reinforcements and even Alexander found himself quite helpless. 334/3 B.C.

27. Just at that moment as the men from the city were prevailing, the tide of battle was surprisingly reversed.[1] For the oldest Macedonians, who were exempt from combat duty by virtue of their age, but who had served with Philip on his campaigns and had been victorious in many battles, were roused by the emergency to show their valour, and, being far superior in pride and war experience, sharply rebuked the faintheartedness of the youngsters who wished to avoid the battle. Then they closed ranks with their shields overlapping and confronted the foe, who thought himself already victorious. They succeeded in slaying Ephialtes and many others, and finally forced the rest to take refuge in the city. Night had already fallen as the Macedonians pushed within the walls along with their fleeing enemies, but the king ordered the trumpeter to sound the recall and they withdrew to their camp.[2] Memnon, however, assembled his generals and satraps, held a meeting, and

[1] Cp. Arrian, 1. 22. 4-6, who simply refers to Ptolemaeus with two battalions of the phalanx.

[2] Arrian, 1. 22. 7, giving as the reason a desire to spare the citizens of Halicarnassus the horrors of a sack.

μὲν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταστήσαντες μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης χορηγίας τὸν λοιπὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὰ
6 χρήματα ἀπεκόμισαν εἰς τὴν Κῶν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ γνοὺς τὸ γεγενημένον τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατέσκαψε τῇ δ' ἀκροπόλει περιέθηκε τεῖχος καὶ τάφρον ἀξιόλογον· αὐτὸς δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως μετὰ στρατηγῶν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον, προστάξας τὰ συνεχῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν χειροῦσθαι.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεργῶς πολεμήσαντες πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας καταστρεψάμενοι, διέθρεψαν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας·
7 ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν παραθαλαττίαν πᾶσαν μέχρι Κιλικίας χειρωσάμενος πολλὰς πόλεις κατεκτήσατο καὶ φρούρια καρτερὰ φιλοτιμότερον πολιορκήσας τῇ βίᾳ κατεπόνησεν, ἐν οἷς ἑνὸς παραδόξως ἐκράτησε, περὶ οὗ διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς περιπετείας οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν.

28. Τῆς γὰρ Λυκίας περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς πέτραν μεγάλην ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν ᾤκουν οἱ Μαρμαρεῖς ὀνομαζόμενοι, οἵτινες παριόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ χωρίον ἐπέθεντο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οὐραγίαν Μακεδόσι καὶ συχνοὺς ἀνελόντες πολλὰ τῶν σωμάτων

[1] Arrian, 1. 23. 1. [2] Arrian, 1. 23. 6.

[3] Arrian, 1. 24. 3, states only that Parmenion was sent back to Sardes with mostly non-Macedonian troops, to proceed thence into Phrygia.

[4] Presumably Diodorus means to say that this story was in his source, and too interesting to be omitted. He does actually at this point omit all the other events of Alexander's Pisidian campaign including the miraculous passage of the Climax, as well as the famous story of the Gordian knot. These are told by Curtius (3. 1), Justin, 11. 7, Plutarch (*Alexander*, 17–18. 2), and Arrian (1. 24. 3–2. 4. 6). Tarn's argument (*Alexander the Great*, 2, 72) that these popular stories were not in Diodorus's source of the moment is untenable if his source was Trogus (p. 13).

decided to abandon the city.[1] They installed their best men in the acropolis with sufficient provision and conveyed the rest of the army and the stores to Cos. When Alexander at daybreak learned what had taken place he razed the city and surrounded the citadel with a formidable wall and trench.[2] A portion of his force under certain generals he dispatched into the interior with orders to subdue the neighbouring tribes.[3] 334/3 B.C.

These commanders, campaigning vigorously, subdued the whole region as far as greater Phrygia, supporting their men on the land. Alexander, for his part, overran the littoral as far as Cilicia, acquiring many cities and actively storming and reducing the strong points. One of these he captured surprisingly with such a curious reversal of fortune that the account of it cannot be omitted.[4]

28. Near the frontiers of Lycia there is a great rock fortress [5] of unusual strength inhabited by people named Marmares. As Alexander marched by, these people attacked the Macedonian rear guard and killed many, carrying off as booty numerous men

[5] Here and elsewhere, Diodorus uses the term *petra* for the abrupt and isolated rocky hills which are not uncommon in Asia, and which made excellent fortresses. This story is not otherwise reported. Freya Stark (*Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 78 (1958), 116 ; cp. *Alexander's Path* (1958), 250 f.) identifies this place with Chandir in Pamphylia. Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 4. 10. 80) tells the same story of Xanthus, traditionally destroyed in this way three times (Herodotus, 1. 176 ; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 31), and it was something of a literary *topos* (also Diodorus, Book 18. 22. 4-7 ; Strabo, 14. 5. 7. 671). Strabo (14. 3. 9. 666) remarks that this destruction was necessary to open the passes.

2 καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀφήρπασαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ
βασιλεὺς παροξυνθεὶς συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν καὶ
πᾶσαν εἰσεφέρετο σπουδὴν βίᾳ κρατῆσαι τοῦ
χωρίου. οἱ δὲ Μαρμαρεῖς ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ
τῇ τῶν τόπων ἐρυμνότητι πιστεύοντες ὑπέμενον
εὐρώστως τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο
συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο προσβολαὶ καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ὁ βα-
σιλεὺς οὐκ ἀποστησόμενος ἕως ἂν ἕλῃ τὴν πέτραν.

3 Οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Μαρμαρέων τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
τον συνεβούλευον τοῖς νέοις παυσαμένοις τῆς βίας
ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἦν δυνατὸν συλλυθῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα·
οὐ πειθομένων δ᾿ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντων φιλοτιμου-
μένων συναποθανεῖν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίᾳ
παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
τοὺς γεγηρακότας ἀνελεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δυνα-
μένους διὰ τῆς ἀλκῆς σώζεσθαι νυκτὸς διὰ μέσων
τῶν πολεμίων διεκπεσεῖν καὶ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν
4 πλησίον ὀρεινήν. συγκαταθεμένων δὲ τῶν νέων
καὶ προσταξάντων κατ᾿ οἰκίαν ἑκάστους μετὰ τῆς
συγγενείας ἀπολαύσαντας τῶν προσηνεστάτων βρω-
τῶν τε καὶ ποτῶν ὑπομεῖναι τὸ δεινὸν[1] ἔδοξε τοῖς
νέοις, οὖσιν ὡς ἑξακοσίοις, τοῦ μὲν φονεύειν τοὺς
προσήκοντας ἀποσχέσθαι, τὰς δ᾿ οἰκίας ἐμπρῆσαι
καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντας εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν
5 ἀποχωρῆσαι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὰ δεδογμένα συν-
τελέσαντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ἑστίαις ἑκάστους ἐποίησαν
ἐνταφῆναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ μέσων τῶν περιεστρατο-
πεδευκότων ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης διεκπεσόντες ἔφυγον
εἰς τὴν πλησίον ὀρεινήν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[1] Diodorus may have confused his narrative in compressing it, or some words may have been lost here.

and pack animals. The king was enraged at this, established a siege, and exerted every effort to take the place by force. The Marmares were very brave and had confidence in the strength of their fortifications, and manfully withstood the attack. For two whole days there were constant assaults and it was clear that the king would not leave until he had captured the "rock." 334/3 B.C.

First, then, the older men of the Marmares advised their younger countrymen to end their resistance and make peace with the king on whatever terms were possible. They would have none of this, however, but all were eager to die together simultaneously with the end of the freedom of their state, so next the elders urged upon them that they should kill with their own hands their children and wives and aged relatives, and those who were strong enough to save themselves should break out through the midst of the enemy at night and take refuge in the neighbouring mountain. The young men agreed, and consequently gave orders to go each to his own house and there, enjoying the best of food and drink with their families, await the dread event. Some of them, however (these were about six hundred), decided not to kill their relatives with their own hands, but to burn them in the houses, and so issuing forth from the gates to make their way to the mountain. These carried out their decision and so caused each family to be entombed at its own hearth, while they themselves slipped through the midst of the enemy encamped about them and made their way to the near-by hills under cover of darkness.

This is what happened in this year.

29. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Νικοκράτους ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Καίσων Οὐαλλέριος καὶ Λεύκιος Παπίριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δαρεῖος χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐξέπεμψε τῷ Μέμνονι
2 καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς ἀπέδειξε στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ μισθοφόρων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας καὶ τριακοσίας ναῦς πληρώσας ἐνεργῶς διῴκει τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. Χίον μὲν οὖν προσηγάγετο· πλεύσας δ' ἐπὶ Λέσβον Ἄντισσαν μὲν καὶ Μήθυμναν καὶ Πύρραν καὶ Ἐρεσσόν[1] ῥᾳδίως ἐχειρώσατο, τὴν δὲ Μιτυλήνην[2] μεγάλην οὖσαν καὶ παρασκευαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἀνδρῶν κεχορηγημένην πολλὰς ἡμέρας πολιορκήσας καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν μόγις εἷλε κατὰ κράτος.
3 εὐθὺ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνεργείας διαβοηθείσης αἱ πλείους τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων διεπρεσβεύοντο. προσπεσούσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διότι Μέμνων μετὰ τοῦ στόλου μέλλει πλεῖν ἐπ' Εὐβοίας αἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην πόλεις περίφοβοι καθειστήκεισαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ τῶν Περσῶν αἱρούμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται, μετέωροι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐγίνοντο
4 πρὸς καινοτομίαν. ὁ δὲ Μέμνων χρήμασι διαφθείρων πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπεισε κοινωνεῖν τῶν Περσικῶν ἐλπίδων. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχη γ'[3] εἴασεν ἐπὶ πλέον προελθεῖν τὴν τἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν· ὁ γὰρ Μέμνων περιπεσὼν ἀρρωστίᾳ καὶ πάθει παραβόλῳ συσχεθεὶς μετήλλαξε καὶ τῇ τούτου τελευτῇ συνετρίβη καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαρείου πράγματα.

30. Προσεδόκησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταθήσε-

[1] Ἐρεσσὸν RX, Ἔρεσσον F] see Strabo, 13. 24; Ptolemy, 5. 2. 19. For Ἐρεσός see *IG* 12. 2, Index, p. 148; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, 486.
[2] Cospius deleted καὶ Λέσβον of MSS. after Μιτυλήνην.
[3] Added by Kallenbach (cp. chap. 101. 2).

29. When Nicocrates was archon at Athens, Caeso Valerius and Lucius Papirius became consuls at Rome.[1] In this year Dareius sent money to Memnon and appointed him commanding general of the whole war. He gathered a force of mercenaries, manned three hundred ships, and pursued the conflict vigorously. He secured Chios, and then coasting along to Lesbos easily mastered Antissa and Methymna and Pyrrha and Eressus. Mitylenê also, large and possessed of rich stores of supplies as well as plenty of fighting men, he nevertheless captured with difficulty by assault after a siege of many days and with the loss of many of his soldiers. News of the general's activity spread like wildfire and most of the Cyclades sent missions to him. As word came to Greece that Memnon was about to sail to Euboea with his fleet, the cities of that island became alarmed, while those Greeks who were friendly to Persia, notably Sparta, began to have high hopes of a change in the political situation. Memnon distributed bribes freely and won many Greeks over to share the Persian hopes, but Fortune nevertheless put an end to his career. He fell ill and died, seized by a desperate malady, and with his death Dareius's fortunes also collapsed.[2] 333/2 B.C.

30. The king had counted on Memnon's transfer-

[1] Nicocrates was archon from July 333 to June 332 B.C. Broughton (1. 139) lists the consuls of 336 B.C. as L. Papirius Crassus and K. Duillius. The former has apparently already been named by Diodorus, chap. 17. 1.
[2] Arrian, 2. 1, gives a similar account, but states that Mitylenê was not captured until after Memnon's death.

σθαι αὐτὸν[1] τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην· ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτήν, συνήγαγε τῶν φίλων συνέδριον καὶ προέθηκε βουλὴν πότερον δεῖ στρατηγοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν καταπέμπειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἢ τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καταβάντα διαγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς Μακε-
2 δόσιν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν δεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα παρατάττεσθαι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν ἀπεφαίνοντο προθυμότερον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· Χαρίδημος δ' Ἀθηναῖος, ἀνὴρ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δεινότητι στρατηγίας, συνεστρατεύσατο μὲν Φιλίππῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σύμβουλος γεγονὼς ἦν, συνεβούλευεν δὲ τῷ Δαρείῳ μὴ προπετῶς ἀποκυβεῦσαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν μὲν τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν συνέχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἀποστέλλειν στρατηγὸν πεῖραν δεδωκότα τῆς ἰδίας
3 ἀρετῆς.[2] δύναμιν δ' ἱκανὴν εἶναι δέκα μυριάδων, ἧς τὸ τρίτον Ἕλληνας ποιῆσαι μισθοφόρους, καὶ δι' ἐμφάσεως αὐτὸς ἀνεδέχετο κατορθώσειν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην.
4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ βασιλεὺς συγκατετίθετο τοῖς λεγομένοις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν φίλων γενναιότερον ἀντειπόντων καὶ τὸν Χαρίδημον εἰς ὑποψίαν ἀγόντων ὅτι τῆς στρατηγίας ὀρέγεται τυχεῖν, ὅπως τοῖς Μακεδόσι προδῷ τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ

[1] Added by Fischer.
[2] So Rhodoman: ἀρχῆς.

[1] Curtius, 3. 2. 10-19, with strong reminiscences of the rôle

ring the impact of the war from Asia into Europe, but learning of his death called a session of his Council of Friends and laid before them the alternatives, either to send generals with an army down to the coast or for himself, the king, to march down with all his armed forces and fight the Macedonians in person. Some said that the king must join in battle personally, and they argued that the Persians would fight better in that event. Charidemus,[1] however, the Athenian, a man generally admired for his bravery and skill as a commander—he had been a comrade-in-arms of King Philip and had led or counselled all his successes[2]—recommended that Dareius should on no account stake his throne rashly on a gamble, but should keep in his own hands the reserve strength and the control of Asia while sending to the war a general who had given proof of his ability. One hundred thousand men would be an adequate force, so long as a third of these were Greek mercenaries, and Charidemus hinted that he himself would assume the responsibility for the success of the plan. 333/2 B.C.

The king was moved by his arguments at first but his Friends opposed them stoutly, and even brought Charidemus into suspicion of wanting to get the command so that he could betray the Persian empire to

of Demaratus in Herodotus. Charidemus is not mentioned in Justin, Plutarch, or Arrian (except earlier, 1. 10. 4-6).

[2] It seems impossible that Diodorus can be right here. Charidemus was not always a dutiful Athenian, but he was one of the generals whom Alexander had demanded after the capture of Thebes, and who had had to flee like Ephialtes and Thrasybulus (chap. 25. 6). It is possible that Charidemus had visited Philip's court about 354 B.C., when his patron Cersobleptes became Philip's friend, but most of Charidemus's career was spent in operations against the Macedonians (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 823).

μὲν Χαρίδημος παροργισθεὶς καὶ προχειρότερον
ὀνειδίσας τὴν Περσῶν ἀνανδρίαν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ
πλεῖον[1] προσκόψαι τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς λόγοις, τοῦ
θυμοῦ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἀφαιρουμένου ὁ μὲν Δαρεῖος
ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Χαριδήμου ζώνης κατὰ τὸν
τῶν Περσῶν νόμον παρέδωκε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ
5 προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι· ὁ δὲ Χαρίδημος ἀπαγό-
μενος ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀνεβόησεν μεταμελήσειν
ταῦτα ταχὺ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς ἀδίκου τιμωρίας
αὐτοῦ σύντομον ἕξειν τὴν κόλασιν, ἐπιδόντα τὴν
κατάλυσιν τῆς βασιλείας.

Χαρίδημος μὲν οὖν μεγάλων ἐλπίδων ἐκπεσὼν
διὰ παρρησίαν ἄκαιρον τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου
6 καταστροφήν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνέντος τοῦ θυμοῦ
τὴν ψυχὴν εὐθὺς μετενόησε καὶ κατεμέμψατο ἑαυτὸν
ὡς τὰ μέγιστα ἡμαρτηκότα. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν
δυνατὸν τὸ γεγονὸς διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας
7 ἀγένητον κατασκευάσαι. διόπερ ὀνειροπολούμενος
ταῖς Μακεδόνων ἀρεταῖς καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνων ἐζήτει
στρατηγὸν ἀξιόχρεων τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν τοῦ
Μέμνονος ἡγεμονίαν· οὐ δυνάμενος δ' εὑρεῖν αὐτὸς
ἠναγκάζετο καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας
κίνδυνον.

31. Εὐθὺς οὖν μετεπέμπετο τὰς πανταχόθεν
δυνάμεις καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπαντᾶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπελέγετο τοὺς
εὐθέτους, ὧν τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἁρμοζούσας ἡγεμονίας
κατεμέριζε, τοὺς δὲ μεθ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν προσ-
2 έταττεν. ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς στρατείας ἀφωρισμένος
χρόνος προσεγένετο, κατήντησαν ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν
Βαβυλῶνα. ὁ δ' ἀριθμὸς ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πεζοὶ

the Macedonians. At this, Charidemus became angry 333/2 B.C. and made free with slurs on Persian lack of manliness. This offended the king, and as his wrath blinded him to his advantage, he seized Charidemus by the girdle according to the custom of the Persians, turned him over to the attendants, and ordered him put to death. So Charidemus was led away, but as he went to his death, he shouted that the king would soon change his mind and would receive a prompt requital for this unjust punishment, becoming the witness of the overthrow of the kingdom.

Charidemus's prospects had been high, but he missed their fulfilment because of his ill-timed frankness and he ended his life in this fashion. Once the king's passion had cooled he promptly regretted his act and reproached himself for having made a serious mistake, but all his royal power was not able to undo what was done. He was haunted by dreams of the Macedonian fighting qualities and the vision of Alexander in action was constantly before his eyes. He searched for a competent general to take over Memnon's command but could find no one, and finally felt constrained to go down himself to take part in the contest for the kingdom.

31. He wasted no time in summoning his forces from all directions and ordered them to muster in Babylon. He canvassed his Friends and Relatives and selected those who were suitable, giving to some commands suited to their abilities and ordering others to fight at his side as his personal staff. When the time set for the march had come, they had all arrived in Babylon. The number of the soldiers was over

[1] πλεῖον] πλείω RF.

μὲν πλείους τῶν τετταράκοντα μυριάδων, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων.

Δαρεῖος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, υἱὸν καὶ
3 δύο θυγατέρας, καὶ τὴν μητέρα· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς Μέμνονος τελευτῆς πυνθανόμενος Χῖον καὶ τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις κεχειρῶσθαι, τὴν δὲ Μιτυλήνην κατὰ κράτος ἡλωκυῖαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Μέμνονα τριακοσίαις τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῇ δυνάμει μέλλοντα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πλείους ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀπό-
4 στασιν οὐ μετρίως ἠγωνία, ὡς δ' ἧκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτήν, ἀπελύθη τῆς πολλῆς ἀγωνίας. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ εἰς ἀρρωστίαν βαρυτέραν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ χαλεπῷ πάθει συνεχόμενος
5 συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἰατρούς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἕκαστος δυσχερῶς εἶχε πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν, Φίλιππος δ' Ἀκαρνὰν τὸ γένος παραβόλοις καὶ συντόμοις θεραπείαις[1] χρώμενος ἐπηγγείλατο διὰ
6 φαρμακείας λύσειν τὴν νόσον. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπακούσαντος διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι Δαρεῖον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὡρμηκέναι ὁ μὲν ἰατρὸς δοὺς φάρμακον πιεῖν καὶ συνεργὸν λαβὼν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ κάμνοντος καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς νόσου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν παραδόξως ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν τιμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατέταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς εὐνουστάτους τῶν φίλων.

[1] So RX: ἰατρείαις F.

four hundred thousand[1] infantry and not less than one 333/2 B.C.
hundred thousand cavalry.

This was the force with which Dareius marched out of Babylon in the direction of Cilicia; he had with him his wife and children—a son and two daughters—and his mother. As to Alexander, he had been watching how, prior to his death, Memnon had won over Chios and the cities in Lesbos and had taken Mitylenê by storm. He learned that Memnon planned to carry the war into Macedonia with three hundred ships of war and a land army also, while the greater part of the Greeks were ready to revolt. This caused him no little anxiety, but when persons came with the news of Memnon's death, he was relieved of this fear; but shortly thereafter he became seriously ill,[2] and, afflicted by severe pain, sent for his physicians. All the rest were hesitant to treat him, but Philip the Arcarnanian offered to employ risky but quick-acting remedies and by the use of drugs to break the hold of the disease. This proposal the king accepted gladly, for he had heard that Dareius had already left Babylon with his army. The physician gave him a drug to drink and, aided by the natural strength of the sufferer as well as by Fortune, promptly relieved Alexander of the trouble. Making an astonishing recovery, the king honoured the physician with magnificent gifts and assigned him to the most loyal category of Friends.[3]

[1] Justin (11. 9. 1) also gives 400,000. The unknown writer of the Alexander History *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1798 (Frag. 44, col. 2. 2/3) and Arrian (2. 8. 8) give the Persian strength as 600,000.

[2] Either from fatigue, as Aristobulus, or from swimming in the cold river Cydnus (Arrian, 2. 4. 7).

[3] Other writers add that Alexander was warned against the physician by Parmenion, but that Alexander showed the

32. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον τά τε ἄλλα τῶν χρησίμων καὶ διότι
φυλάξασθαι προσήκει τὸν Λυγκηστὴν[1] Ἀλέξανδρον.
οὗτος δ' ὢν ἀνδρείᾳ διάφορος καὶ φρονήματος πλή-
ρης καὶ συμπαρακολουθῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ τῶν
2 ἄλλων φίλων ἐπιστεύετο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων
εὐλόγων συνδραμόντων πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διαβο-
λὴν συλληφθεὶς καὶ δεθεὶς εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδόθη,
ὡς τευξόμενος δικαστηρίου.
Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τὸν Δαρεῖον ὀλίγων
ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν Παρμενίωνα μὲν μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν προκαταληψόμενον τὰς παρό-
δους καὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας . . .[2] Πύλας· οὗτος
δ' ἐπιβαλὼν τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοὺς προκατειληφότας
τὰς δυσχωρίας βαρβάρους βιασάμενος κύριος ἐγέ-
3 νετο τῶν παρόδων. Δαρεῖος δὲ βουλόμενος εὔζωνον
ποιῆσαι τὴν δύναμιν τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν
περιττὸν ὄχλον εἰς Δαμασκὸν τῆς Συρίας ἀπέθετο,
τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον πυθόμενος τὰς δυσχωρίας προ-
κατειληφέναι καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν μὴ τολμᾶν ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ διαγωνίζεσθαι προῆγεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν σύντομον
4 τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιούμενος. οἱ δ' ἐγχώριοι τῆς

[1] So Wesseling (cp. chap. 80. 2): Λυγκιστήν.
[2] Κιλικίας Fischer (cp. Book 14. 20. 1; Arrian, 2. 4. 2, 4, but that is another place).

letter to Philip only as he drank the medicine (Curtius, 3. 5-6; Justin, 11. 8. 3-9; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 19; Arrian, 2. 4. 7-11; *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1798, Frag. 44, col. 1).
[1] Justin (11. 7. 1-2) and Arrian (1. 25) say that the plot of Alexander was revealed by a Persian captive, and place the incident earlier. Perhaps for this reason, Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, 2. 68) thought that the "king's mother" here was Dareius's mother, Sisygambis. But he recognized that she did not yet know Alexander and had no motive for such a warning; Olympias, on the other hand, was both in close touch with and watchful over her son. Diodorus's account is very credible.

32. Alexander's mother wrote at this time to him, giving him other useful advice and warning him to be on his guard against the Lyncestian Alexander.[1] This was a man distinguished for bravery and high spirit who accompanied the king in the group of Friends in a trusted capacity. There were many other plausible circumstances joining to support the charge, and so the Lyncestian was arrested and bound and placed under guard, until he should face a court.[2] 333/2 B.C.

Alexander learned that Dareius was only a few days march away, and sent off Parmenion with a body of troops to seize the passage of the so-called . . . Gates.[3] When the latter reached the place, he forced out the Persians who were holding the pass and remained master of it. Dareius decided to make his army mobile and diverted his baggage train and the non-combatants to Damascus in Syria[4]; then, learning that Alexander was holding the passes and thinking that he would never dare to fight in the plain, made his way quickly to meet him. The people of

[2] Alexander belonged to the ruling family of Lyncestis. His two brothers had been executed by King Alexander at his accession, but this Alexander had demonstrated his loyalty and remained a trusted friend of the king. He was, however, a possible rival for the throne of Macedonia, and doubtless suspected by Olympias. He was executed without facing specific charges at the time of Philotas's conspiracy (chap. 80. 2).
[3] Actually, the Syrian Gates; cp. Arrian, 2. 5. 1, who calls them simply "the other gates."
[4] Curtius, 3. 8. 12; Arrian, 2. 11. 9-10.

μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀλιγότητος καταφρονήσαντες, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν στρατιᾶς καταπεπληγμένοι καταλιπόντες τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον προσέθεντο τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ τάς τε τροφὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἐχορήγουν τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας κρίσεως προεσήμαινον τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν νίκην. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν Ἰσσὸν πόλιν ἀξιόλογον καταπληξάμενος ἐχειρώσατο.

33. Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχειν τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ συντεταγμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει προσιέναι καταπληκτικῶς, ὑπολαβὼν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι τὸν καιρὸν ὥστε μιᾷ παρατάξει νικήσαντα καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις παρεκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνα, τὰ δὲ τάγματα τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱππέων εἴλας οἰκείως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τόποις διατάξας τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐπέστησε[1] πρὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς, τὴν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατόπιν
2 ἐφεδρεύειν προσέταξεν. αὐτὸς δὲ προηγούμενος τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἱππέων· τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον μέρος ἐπεῖχον οἱ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππεῖς, πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντες ταῖς τε ἀνδραγαθίαις
3 καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις. ὡς δ' αἱ δυνάμεις ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίνοντο, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπέρριψαν οἱ βάρβαροι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος βελῶν ὥστε διὰ τὴν

[1] ἐπέστησε] ἔστησε Bekker.

[1] A little less than four miles (Curtius, 3. 8. 23). Of all the

the country, who had little respect for the small numbers of the Macedonians but were much impressed with the great size of the Persian army, abandoned Alexander and came over to Dareius. They brought the Persians food and other materials with great goodwill, and mentally predicted victory for them. Alexander, however, occupied Issus, a considerable city, which was terrified into submission. 333/2 B.C.

33. When his scouts reported that Dareius was only thirty stades away[1] and advancing in alarming fashion with his forces drawn up for battle, a frightening spectacle, Alexander grasped that this was a god-given opportunity to destroy the Persian power in a single victory. He roused his soldiers with appropriate words for a decisive effort and marshalled the battalions of foot and the squadrons of horse appropriately to the location. He set the cavalry along the front of the whole army, and ordered the infantry phalanx to remain in reserve behind it. He himself advanced at the head of the right wing to the encounter, having with him the best of the mounted troops. The Thessalian horse was on the left, and this was outstanding in bravery and skill. When the armies were within missile range, the Persians launched at Alexander such a shower of missiles that

historians, Diodorus alone fails to state that Dareius occupied Issus in Alexander's rear, and his narrative is very conventional. Actually, Dareius established a fortified line along the north bank of the river Pinarus, and Alexander was compelled to turn the position by a movement through the hills to the east. Cp. Polybius, 12. 17-23; Curtius, 3. 8-11. 15; Justin, 11. 9. 1-9; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 20. 1-5; Arrian, 2. 8-11. The battle was fought in the Attic month Maimacterion, perhaps in November, 333 B.C. (Arrian, 2. 11. 10), or somewhat earlier (M. J. Fontana, *Kokalos*, 2 (1956), 47).

πυκνότητα τῶν βαλλομένων ἀλλήλοις συγκρουόν-
4 των ἀσθενεστέρας γίνεσθαι τὰς πληγάς. τῶν δὲ
σαλπικτῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαι-
νόντων οἱ Μακεδόνες πρῶτοι συναλαλάξαντες βοὴν
ἐξαίσιον ἐποίησαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων
ἀντιφθεγξαμένων συνήχησε μὲν ἡ σύνεγγυς ὀρεινὴ
πᾶσα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς βοῆς ὑπερῆρε τὴν προγε-
γενημένην κραυγὴν ὡς ἂν πεντήκοντα μυριάδων
μιᾷ φωνῇ συνηχουσῶν.
5 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος πάντῃ τὴν ὄψιν βάλλων καὶ
σπεύδων κατιδεῖν τὸν Δαρεῖον ἅμα τῷ κατανοῆσαι
παραχρῆμα μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ἐφέρετο τὸν βασιλέα, σπεύδων οὐχ οὕτω κατα-
προτερῆσαι τῶν Περσῶν ὡς τὸ δι' αὑτοῦ περιποιή-
6 σασθαι τὴν νίκην. ἅμα δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἁπάντων ἱππέων συμπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοῦ
φόνου γινομένου ἡ μὲν μάχη διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀγωνιζο-
μένων ἀρετὰς ἀμφίδοξον εἶχε τὴν τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν·
ἐταλαντεύετο γὰρ δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε, τῆς τροπῆς ἐναλ-
7 λὰξ γινομένης. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκοντίσας οὔτε πατάξας
οὐδεὶς ἄπρακτον ἔσχε τὴν πληγὴν ὡς ἂν διὰ τὸ
πλῆθος ἑτοίμου τοῦ σκοποῦ κειμένου. διὸ καὶ
πολλοὶ[1] τραύμασιν ἐναντίοις περιτυγχάνοντες ἔπι-
πτον καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς θυμομαχοῦν-
τες τὸ ζῆν πρότερον ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐξέλειπον.

34. Οἱ δὲ ἑκάστης τάξεως ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὑπο-
τεταγμένων προαγωνιζόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδραγαθεῖν προετρέψαντο. διὸ καὶ
παρῆν ὁρᾶν πολλὰς μὲν διαθέσεις τραυμάτων γινο-
μένας, ποικίλους δὲ καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συνιστα-
2 μένους ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. Ὀξάθρης δ' ὁ Πέρσης,
ἀδελφὸς μὲν ὢν Δαρείου, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν

they collided with one another in the air, so thickly did they fly, and weakened the force of their impact. On both sides the trumpeters blew the signal of attack and then the Macedonians first raised an unearthly shout followed by the Persians answering, so that the whole hillside bordering the battlefield echoed back the sound, and this second roar in volume surpassed the Macedonian warcry as five hundred thousand men shouted with one voice.[1] 333/2 B.C.

Alexander cast his glance in all directions in his anxiety to see Dareius, and as soon as he had identified him, he drove hard with his cavalry at the king himself, wanting not so much to defeat the Persians as to win the victory with his own hands. By now the rest of the cavalry on both sides was engaged and many were killed as the battle raged indecisively because of the evenly matched fighting qualities of the two sides. The scales inclined now one way, now another, as the lines swayed alternately forward and backward. No javelin cast or sword thrust lacked its effect as the crowded ranks offered a ready target. Many fell with wounds received as they faced the enemy and their fury held to the last breath, so that life failed them sooner than courage.

34. The officers of each unit fought valiantly at the head of their men and by their example inspired courage in the ranks. One could see many forms of wounds inflicted, furious struggles of all sorts inspired by the will to win. The Persian Oxathres was the brother of Dareius and a man highly praised for his

[1] This is the total Persian strength as given above, chap. 31. 2.

[1] πολλοὶ F, corrected to πολλοῖς, as in RX.

ἐπαινούμενος, ὡς εἶδεν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκατα-
σχέτως ἱέμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἐφιλοτιμήθη τῆς
3 αὐτῆς τύχης κοινωνῆσαι τἀδελφῷ. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν
τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τεταγ-
μένων μετὰ τούτων ἐπέρραξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον καὶ νομίσας τὸ φιλάδελφον τῆς ψυχῆς οἴσειν
αὐτῷ περιβόητον παρὰ Πέρσαις δόξαν προεμάχετο
τοῦ Δαρείου τεθρίππου καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας εὐτόλ-
μως τοῖς πολεμίοις συμπλεκόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέ-
4 κτεινε. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερβαλλο-
μένων ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις περὶ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Δαρείου
τέθριππον ταχὺ νεκρῶν ἐσωρεύθη πλῆθος· πάντες
γὰρ ἐφιέμενοι τοῦ βασιλέως ψαῦσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ἐκθυμότατα διηγωνίζοντο καὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐδεμίαν
ἐποιοῦντο φειδώ.

5 Ἔπεσον δ' ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν
παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχεν[1]
Ἀντιξύης[2] καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
σατράπης Τασιάκης.[3] ὁμοίως δὲ πολλῶν καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς Μακεδόσι πεσόντων συνέβη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι τὸν μηρόν, περιχυθέντων
6 αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ τὸν τοῦ Δαρείου τε-
θρίππου ζυγὸν ἐπέχοντες ἵπποι, τραυματιζόμενοι
πυκνῶς καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς σωρευο-
μένων νεκρῶν πτυρόμενοι, τὰ μὲν χαλινὰ διεσείοντο,

[1] So RX ; ὑπῆρχον *cet.*
[2] Wesseling would correct to Ἀτιζύης from chap. 21. 3.
[3] Τασιάκης RX ; Στασιάκης F ; Σαβάκης Arrian (2. 11. 8).

fighting qualities ; when he saw Alexander riding at Dareius and feared that he would not be checked, he was seized with the desire to share his brother's fate. Ordering the best of the horsemen in his company to follow him, he threw himself with them against Alexander, thinking that this demonstration of brotherly love would bring him high renown among the Persians. He took up the fight directly in front of Dareius's chariot and there engaging the enemy skilfully and with a stout heart slew many of them. The fighting qualities of Alexander's group were superior, however, and quickly many bodies lay piled high about the chariot. No Macedonian had any other thought than to strike the king, and in their intense rivalry to reach him took no thought for their lives.[1] 333/2 B.C.

Many of the noblest Persian princes perished in this struggle, among them Antixyes and Rheomithres and Tasiaces, the satrap of Egypt.[2] Many of the Macedonians fell also, and Alexander himself was wounded[3] in the thigh, for the enemy pressed about him. The horses which were harnessed to the yoke of Dareius's chariot were covered with wounds and terrified by the piles of dead about them. They re-

[1] Curtius, 3. 11. 8. This is the scene pictured in the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii.

[2] Rheomithres was mentioned as a cavalry commander on the Persian right wing at the Granicus (chap. 19. 4). Curtius (3. 11. 10) mentions the death of Atizyes, Rheomithres, and Sabaces, satrap of Egypt ; Arrian (2. 11. 8) names Arsames, Rheomithres, Atizyes, Sabaces of Egypt, and Bubaces. Although Diodorus has reported Atizyes dead at the Granicus (chap. 21. 3), it is possible that he is the otherwise unknown Antixyes here.

[3] By Dareius himself, according to Chares (Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 2. 9. 341 B). Alexander's wound is mentioned by Curtius (3. 11. 10), Justin (11. 9. 9), Plutarch (*Alexander*, 20. 5), and Arrian (2. 12. 1).

παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δαρεῖον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξήνεγκαν. διὸ καὶ κινδυνεύων ἐσχάτως ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἥρπασε τοὺς ῥυτῆρας, συναναγκαζόμενος λῦσαι τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς προστασίας καὶ τὸν παρὰ Πέρσαις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κείμενον νό-
7 μον ὑπερβῆναι. προσήχθη δὲ καὶ τέθριππον ἕτερον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο μετάβασιν ταραχῆς γενομένης ὁ μὲν Δαρεῖος ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς ἔκπληξιν καὶ δέος ἐνέπιπτεν.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸν βασιλέα κατανοήσαντες ταραττόμενον εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐχομένων ἱππέων ποιησάντων ταχὺ πάντες ἐτρά-
8 πησαν. τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὔσης ἐν τόποις στενοῖς καὶ τραχέσι συμπίπτοντες ἀλλήλους συνεπάτουν καὶ πολλοὶ χωρὶς πολεμίας πληγῆς ἀπέθνησκον. ἔκειντο γὰρ ὁμοῦ/σωρευθέντες οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων, οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες τὰς πανοπλίας· τινὲς δὲ γεγυμνωμένα τὰ ξίφη διαφυλάξαντες τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ἀναπειρομένους ἀνῄρουν· οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι εἰς τὰ πεδία διεκπεσόντες διὰ τούτων ἀπὸ κράτους ἐλαύνοντες τοὺς ἵππους εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις κατέφευγον.
9 ἡ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγξ καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν πεζὸν στράτευμα βραχὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διέμεινεν· προηττημένων γὰρ τῶν ἱππέων οἱονεί τις

[1] A more literal rendering would be "they shook off (or out) their bits," but it is hard to see how horses could do this. Curtius (3. 11. 11) renders the same idiom as "iugum quatere," "toss the yoke." If, as has been suggested in the Introduction (p. 13), Diodorus was using Trogus as a source, it may be that he was put to it to translate a Latin saying. We may assume that the horses reared and tossed and shook their

fused to answer to their bridles,[1] and came close to carrying off Dareius into the midst of the enemy, but the king himself, in extreme peril, caught up the reins, being forced to throw away the dignity of his position and to violate the ancient custom of the Persian kings. A second chariot was brought up by Dareius's attendants and in the confusion as he changed over to it in the face of constant attack he fell into a panic terror.[2] 333/2 B.C.

Seeing their king in this state, the Persians with him turned to flee, and as each adjacent unit in turn did the same, the whole Persian cavalry was soon in full retreat. As their route took them through narrow defiles and over rough country, they clashed and trampled on one another and many died without having received a blow from the enemy. For men lay piled up in confusion, some without armour, others in full battle panoply. Some with their swords still drawn killed those who spitted themselves upon them.[3] Most of the cavalry, however, bursting out into the plain and driving their horses at full gallop succeeded in reaching the safety of the friendly cities. Now the Macedonian phalanx and the Persian infantry were engaged only briefly, for the rout of the cavalry had been, as it were, a prelude of the

heads, making their control almost impossible. This is how they are represented in the Alexander Mosaic.

[2] The Alexander Mosaic shows Dareius about to mount a horse to make his escape, as in Curtius (3. 11. 11) and Arrian (2. 11. 5). In chap. 37. 1, also, Dareius makes his escape on horseback. Perhaps he intended to continue the battle in the second chariot.

[3] Arrian (2. 11. 8) quotes Ptolemy as reporting that Alexander's cavalry in the pursuit crossed a deep gully on the piled up bodies of the dead. Even a king, it seems, might draw the long bow on occasion in writing history.

προαγὼν ἐγεγόνει τῆς ὅλης νίκης. πάντων δὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων ταχὺ τραπέντων καὶ τοσούτων μυριάδων
ἐν στενοῖς τόποις τὴν φυγὴν ποιουμένων ταχὺ πᾶς
ὁ συνεχὴς τόπος νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη.

35. Νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ῥᾳ-
δίως διεσπάρησαν εἰς πολλοὺς τόπους, οἱ δὲ Μα-
κεδόνες παυσάμενοι τοῦ διωγμοῦ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν
ὥρμησαν καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς σκηνὰς
2 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πολυτελείας ἠσχολοῦντο. διόπερ
πολὺς μὲν ἄργυρος, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ χρυσός, παμ-
πληθεῖς δὲ καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτες ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς
γάζης διεφοροῦντο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν τοῦ βα-
σιλέως φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμό-
3 νων οὐκ ὀλίγος διηρπάγη πλοῦτος. οὐ μόνον γὰρ
αἱ τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τῶν συγγενῶν
καὶ φίλων γυναῖκες ἐφ' ἁρμάτων ὀχούμεναι κατα-
χρύσων συνηκολούθουν κατά τι πάτριον ἔθος τῶν
4 Περσῶν· ἑκάστη δὲ τούτων διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ
πλούτου καὶ τῆς τρυφῆς περιήγετο πλῆθος πολυ-
δαπάνου κατασκευῆς καὶ γυναικείου κόσμου.

Πάθος δ' ἦν δεινότατον περὶ τὰς αἰχμαλωτιζο-
5 μένας γυναῖκας. αἱ γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τρυφὴν ἐπ'
ἀπήναις πολυτελέσι μόγις κατακομιζόμεναι καὶ
γυμνὸν μέρος τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν φαίνουσαι, τότε
μονοχίτωνες καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρήττουσαι μετ'
ὀδυρμῶν ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐξεπήδων, ἐπιβοώμεναι
θεοὺς καὶ προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς τῶν κρατούντων
6 γόνασι. περιαιρούμεναι δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τρεμούσαις
τὸν τοῦ σώματος κόσμον καὶ τὰς κόμας ἀνειμέναι
διὰ τόπων τραχέων ἔθεον καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας συντρέ-

whole victory. Soon all of the Persians were in retreat and as so many tens of thousands were making their escape through narrow passes the whole countryside was soon covered with bodies. 333/2 B.C.

35. When night fell, the remainder of the Persian army easily succeeded in scattering in various directions while the Macedonians gave over the pursuit and turned to plunder, being particularly attracted by the royal pavilions because of the mass of wealth that was there.[1] This included much silver, no little gold, and vast numbers of rich dresses from the royal treasure, which they took, and likewise a great store of wealth belonging to the King's Friends, Relatives, and military commanders. Not only the ladies of the royal house but also those of the King's Relatives and Friends, borne on gilded chariots, had accompanied the army according to an ancestral custom of the Persians, and each of them had brought with her a store of rich furniture and feminine adornment, in keeping with their vast wealth and luxury.

The lot of these captured women was pathetic in the extreme.[2] They who previously from daintiness only with reluctance had been conveyed in luxurious carriages and had exposed no part of their bodies unveiled now burst wailing out of the tents clad only in a single chiton, rending their garments, calling on the gods, and falling at the knees of the conquerors. Flinging off their jewelry with trembling hands and with their hair flying, they fled for their lives over rugged ground and, collecting into groups, they

[1] This capture of the personal baggage and retinue of the king and his nobles was followed by that of the military train at Damascus (chap. 32. 3), which Diodorus does not mention (Arrian, 2. 11. 10).

[2] The same picture is sketched by Curtius, 3. 11. 21-23.

χουσαι βοηθοὺς ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὰς παρ' ἑτέρων ἐπι-
7 κουρίας δεομένας. ἦγον δ' αὐτὰς οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
κόμης ἐπισπώμενοι τὰς ἠτυχηκυίας, οἱ δὲ τὰς
ἐσθῆτας περιρηγνύντες καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν
ἐπιβάλλοντες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ταῖς στάθμαις τῶν
δοράτων τύπτοντες καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα
τῶν βαρβάρων ταῖς τῆς τύχης δωρεαῖς ὑβρίζοντες.

36. Οἱ δ' ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς τύχης ὁρῶντες συμπαθεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκληρούντων συμφορὰς ἠλέουν, αἷς τὰ μὲν προσήκοντα καὶ μεγάλα[1] μακρὰν ἀπήρτητο, τὰ δ' ἀλλόφυλα καὶ πολέμια παρῆν σύνεγγυς . . . καὶ πρὸς ἀτυχῆ καὶ ἐπονείδιστον αἰχμαλωσίαν παρώρμητο.

2 Μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς παρόντας εἰς δάκρυα καὶ συμ-
πάθειαν ἤγαγεν ἡ Δαρείου μήτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ δύο
3 θυγατέρες ἐπίγαμοι καὶ υἱὸς παῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἐπὶ
γὰρ τούτων ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν ἀνελπίστων ἀκληρημάτων ἐν ὄψει κείμενον
εὐλόγως τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐποίει συμπάσχειν τοῖς
4 ἠτυχηκόσι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ Δαρείου πότερον ζῇ καὶ
περίεστιν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φθορᾶς ἀπόλωλεν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον, ἑώρων δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάζοντας ἐνόπλους πολεμίους ἄνδρας, ἀγνοοῦντας μὲν τὰς ἡλωκυίας, πολλὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀπρεπῆ πράττοντας, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ὅλην τὴν Ἀσίαν αἰχμάλωτον μεθ' αὐτῶν γεγενημένην καὶ ταῖς μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν γυναιξὶ προσπιπτούσαις καὶ δεομέναις βοηθεῖν οὐχ οἷον συνεπιλαβέσθαι τινὸς ἴσ-

[1] For μεγάλα Wesseling suggests μειλίχια, Bezzel φίλια.

[1] There seems to be an omission in the manuscript here.

called to help them those who were themselves in need of help from others. Some of their captors dragged these unfortunates by the hair, others, ripping off their clothing, drove them with blows of their hands or spear-butts against their naked bodies, thus outraging the dearest and proudest of the Persian possessions by virtue of Fortune's generosity to them. 333/2 B.C.

36. Now the most prudent of the Macedonians looked on this reversal of fortune with compassion and felt pity for the case of those who had seen their former lot so violently changed; everything belonging to their high rank was far removed from them, and they were encompassed by what was foreign and hostile. (This, however, was not the attitude of most of the soldiery,)[1] and the women were herded off into a luckless and humiliating captivity.

What particularly moved to tears of pity those who saw it was the family of Dareius, his mother, wife, two daughters of marriageable age, and a son who was a mere boy.[2] In their case, the change in fortune and the magnitude of their loss of position, incredible as it was, was a spectacle that might well inspire compassion in those who beheld it. They knew nothing of Dareius, whether he lived and survived or had perished in the general disaster, but they saw their tent plundered by armed men who were unaware of the identity of their captives and committed many improper acts through ignorance. They saw the whole of Asia taken prisoner with them, and as the wives of the satraps fell at their feet and implored their help, they were not able to assist any one of

The words in parenthesis represent what may have been the original sense.

[2] In chap. 38. 2, he is said to have been six years old.

χυον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ ταύτας ἠξίουν συνεπικουρῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀκληρήμασιν.

5 Οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες καταλαβόμενοι τὴν τοῦ Δαρείου σκηνὴν τἀκείνου λουτρὰ καὶ δεῖπνα παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ λαμπάδων πολλὴν πυρὰν ἅψαντες προσεδέχοντο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπως ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ γενόμενος καὶ καταλαβὼν ἑτοίμην πᾶσαν τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ Δαρείου οἰωνίσηται τὴν ὅλην τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμονίαν.

6 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐτελεύτησαν τῶν βαρβάρων πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν δέκα[1] μυριάδων, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων, τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς τριακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἰσσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας μάχη τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

37. Τῶν δὲ βασιλέων Δαρεῖος μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένος εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησεν καὶ μεταλαμβάνων ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου τῶν ἀρίστων ἵππων κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνε, διαφυγεῖν σπεύδων τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου χεῖρας καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἅψασθαι προαιρούμενος·
2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρίστων ἱππέων ἐποιεῖτο τὸν διωγμόν, σπεύδων ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι τοῦ Δαρείου. διανύσας δὲ σταδίους διακοσίους ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τοῖς δὲ λουτροῖς θερα-

[1] So F; δώδεκα RX. Cp. Curtius, 3. 11. 27: *peditum c milia.*

[1] Curtius, 3. 11. 23; Justin, 11. 10. 1-5; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 20. 6-8. Justin and Plutarch (21. 4) state that Alex-

of them, but themselves sought the assistance of the others in their own misfortunes. 333/2 B.C.

The royal pages now took over the tent of Dareius and prepared Alexander's bath and dinner and, lighting a great blaze of torches, waited for him, that he might return from the pursuit and, finding ready for him all the riches of Dareius, take it as an omen for his conquest of the empire of all Asia.[1]

In the course of the battle there died on the Persian side more than one hundred thousand infantry and not less than ten thousand cavalry[2]; on the Macedonian side, the casualties were three hundred infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry.[3] This was the conclusion of the battle at Issus of Cilicia.

37. The kings, however, were still occupied. When he knew that he was decisively defeated, Dareius gave himself up to flight and mounting in turn one after another of his best horses galloped on at top speed, desperately seeking to escape from Alexander's grasp and anxious to reach the safety of the upper satrapies. Alexander followed him with the companion cavalry[4] and the best of the other horsemen, eager to get possession of Dareius's person. He continued on for two hundred furlongs and then turned back, returning to his camp about midnight.

ander married Barsinê at this time (above, p. 183, note 2). Curtius mentions Barsinê (3. 13. 14) but not the marriage.

[2] These same figures are given by Curtius (3. 11. 27), Plutarch (*Alexander*, 20. 5), and Arrian (2. 11. 8). Justin gives (11. 9. 10) 61,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry killed and 40,000 captured.

[3] Curtius gives 4500 wounded, 302 missing, 150 killed (3. 11. 27); Justin (11. 9. 10), 130 infantry killed and 150 cavalry; Arrian (2. 10. 7), 120 Macedonians killed.

[4] This is the usual term for the Macedonian royal horse guards.

πεύσας τὸν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας κόπον ἐτρέπετο πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ δειπνοποιίαν.

3 Πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Δαρείου προσελθών τις ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι πάρεστιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ, τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐσκυλευκώς. ἔνθα δὴ κραυγῆς μεγάλης καὶ κλαυθμοῦ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας γενομένου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διὰ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν συμπενθοῦντος καὶ πολὺν ὀδυρμὸν προϊεμένου, πυθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πάθος ἐξέπεμψεν ἕνα τῶν φίλων Λεοννάτον[1] καταπαύσοντα τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ παραμυθησόμενον τὰς περὶ τὴν Σισύγγαμβριν καὶ δηλώσοντα διότι Δαρεῖος μὲν ζῇ, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ποιήσεται τὴν προσήκουσαν καὶ διότι πρῲ βούλεται προσαγορεῦσαί τε αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ
4 τῶν ἔργων ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν φιλανθρωπίαν. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλωτίδες προσπεσούσης αὐταῖς παραδόξου καὶ παντελῶς ἀπηλπισμένης εὐτυχίας τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς θεὸν προσεδέξαντο καὶ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν.

5 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ λαβὼν ἕνα τῶν φίλων τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενον Ἡφαιστίωνα παρῆλθε πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας. ἐχόντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐσθῆτας μὲν ὁμοίας, τῷ μεγέθει δὲ καὶ κάλλει προέχοντος τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἡ Σισύγγαμβρις τοῦτον ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνησεν· διανευόντων δ' αὐτῇ τῶν παρεστώτων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ δεικνύντων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἡ μὲν Σισύγγαμβρις αἰδεσθεῖσα τὴν ἄγνοιαν πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσεκύνει τὸν Ἀλέξαν-
6 δρον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Μηδὲν φροντί-

[1] Λεονάτον RX (cp. Book 16. 94. 4).

Having dispelled his weariness in the bath, he turned to relaxation and to dinner. 333/2 B.C.

Someone came to the wife and the mother of Dareius[1] and told them that Alexander had come back from the pursuit after stripping Dareius of his arms. At this, a great outcry and lamentation arose among the women; and the rest of the captives, joining in their sorrow at the news, sent up a loud wail, so that the king heard it and sent Leonnatus, one of his Friends, to quiet the uproar and to reassure Sisyngambris[2] by explaining that Dareius was still alive and that Alexander would show them the proper consideration. In the morning he would come to address them and to demonstrate his kindness by deeds. As they heard this welcome and altogether unexpected good news, the captive women hailed Alexander as a god and ceased from their wailing.

So at daybreak, the king took with him the most valued of his Friends, Hephaestion, and came to the women. They both were dressed alike, but Hephaestion was taller and more handsome. Sisyngambris took him for the king and did him obeisance. As the others present made signs to her and pointed to Alexander with their hands she was embarrassed by her mistake, but made a new start and did obeisance to Alexander. He, however, cut in and said, "Never

[1] Curtius, 3. 11. 24–12. 18; Justin 11. 9. 12-16; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 21; Arrian, 2. 12. 3-8. According to the last, Ptolemy and Aristobulus wrote that Alexander sent Leonnatus to the queens, but did not visit them himself; this is the version followed by Plutarch. The personal visit of Alexander and Hephaestion is attributed to another source, not identified.

[2] The usual spelling is Sisigambis, as in Curtius, 3. 3. 22.

σης, ὦ μῆτερ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρεσβῦτιν μητέρα προσαγορεύσας διὰ τῆς φιλανθρωποτάτης προσηγορίας προεσήμαινε τοῖς προητυχηκόσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι φιλανθρωπίαν. διαβεβαιωσάμενος δ' αὐτὴν ὑπάρξειν δευτέραν μητέρα τοῖς ἔργοις εὐθὺς ἐκύρωσε τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπαγγελίαν.

38. Περιέθηκε γὰρ αὐτῇ κόσμον τε βασιλικὸν καὶ τὸ προγεγονὸς ἀξίωμα ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀποκατέστησε· τὴν μὲν γὰρ θεραπείαν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρέδωκεν, ἰδίαν δ' ἄλλην οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς προϋπαρχούσης προσεδωρήσατο καὶ τῆς μὲν τῶν παρθένων ἐκδόσεως βέλτιον τῆς Δαρείου κρίσεως ἐπηγγείλατο προνοήσεσθαι,[1] τὸν παῖδα δὲ θρέψειν ὡς υἱὸν ἴδιον καὶ
2 βασιλικῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώσειν. προσκαλεσάμενος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ φιλήσας, ὡς εἶδεν ἀδεῶς βλέψαντα καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως καταπλαγέντα, πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ παῖς ὢν ἓξ ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν προφαίνων πολλῷ βελτίων ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρός. περὶ δὲ τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν σεμνότητος πρόνοιαν ἕξειν ἔφησεν ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνάξιον πάθῃ τῆς προγεγενημένης εὐδαιμονίας.

3 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ἔλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν διαλεχθεὶς ἐποίησε τὰς γυναῖκας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀνελπίστου χαρᾶς εἰς ἀκατάσχετα προπεσεῖν δάκρυα. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς προειρημένοις δοὺς τὴν δεξιὰν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ παθόντων ἐπαίνων ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς συστρατευομένοις περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐπι-

[1] So editors: προνοήσασθαι.

mind, Mother. For actually he too is Alexander."[1] 333/2 B.C.
By thus addressing the aged woman as "Mother," with this kindliest of terms he gave the promise of coming benefactions to those who had been wretched a moment before. Assuring Sisyngambris that she would be his second mother he immediately ratified in action what he had just promised orally.

38. He decked her with her royal jewelry and restored her to her previous dignity, with its proper honours. He made over to her all the former retinue of servants which she had been given by Dareius and added more in addition not less in number than the preceding. He promised to provide for the marriage of the daughters even more generously than Dareius had promised and to bring up the boy as his own son and to show him royal honour. He called the boy to him and kissed him, and as he saw him fearless in countenance and not frightened at all, he remarked to Hephaestion that at the age of six years the boy showed a courage beyond his years and was much braver than his father.[2] As to the wife of Dareius, he said that he would see that her dignity should be so maintained that she would experience nothing inconsistent with her former happiness.

He added many other assurances of consideration and generosity, so that the women broke out into uncontrolled weeping, so great was their unexpected joy. He gave them his hand as pledge of all this and was not only showered with praises by those who had been helped, but won universal recognition throughout his own army for his exceeding propriety of con-

[1] This recalls the proverbial Greek definition of a friend as a "Second Self," ascribed to Zenon in Diogenes Laertius, 7. 23. Cp. also Plutarch, *De amicorum multitudine*, 2. 93 E.
[2] Curtius, 3. 12. 26.

4 εικείας. καθόλου δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω[1] πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου συντετελεσμένων μηδὲν τούτων μεῖζον ὑπάρχειν μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἄξιον
5 ἀναγραφῆς καὶ μνήμης ἱστορικῆς εἶναι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων πολιορκίαι καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον προτερήματα τὰ πλείονα διὰ τύχην ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπιτυγχάνεται, ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς[2] ἐξουσίαις εἰς τοὺς ἐπταικότας ἔλεος μερι-
6 ζόμενος διὰ μόνης τῆς φρονήσεως γίνεται. οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπαίρονται μὲν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, ὑπερήφανοι δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γινόμενοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ κοινῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιλανθάνονται· διὸ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ὁρᾶν ἔστι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὥσπερ τι βαρὺ φορτίον φέρειν ἀδυνατοῦν-
7 τας. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν, καίπερ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς προγεγονὼς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου, τυγχανέτω καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων δικαίου καὶ πρέποντος ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρεταῖς[3] ἐπαίνου.

39. Δαρεῖος δὲ διανύσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχης διασωζομένους ἀναλαβὼν οὐκ ἔπεσε τῷ φρονήματι, καίπερ μεγάλῃ περιπεπτωκὼς συμφορᾷ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγραψεν ἀνθρωπίνως φέρειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀλλάξασθαι χρημάτων πλῆθος λα-

[1] καθόλου δὲ γέγονεν ἔργον τοῦτο μέγα καὶ περιβόητον· ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω X.

[2] Fischer suggests adding here κατὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν from Book 18. 59. 5. It is possible that this phrase may have been displaced two lines below, where it is out of place. (Dindorf conjectured reading there εὐήθειαν, Bezzel ῥαθυμίαν.)

duct. In general I would say that of many good 333/2 B.C.
deeds done by Alexander there is none that is greater or more worthy of record and mention in history than this. Sieges and battles and the other victories scored in war are due for the most part either to Fortune or valour, but when one in a position of power shows pity for those who have been overthrown, this is an action due only to wisdom.[1] Most people are made proud by their successes because of their good fortune [2] and, becoming arrogant in their success, are forgetful of the common weakness of mankind. You can see how very many are unable to bear success, just as if it were a heavy burden. Although Alexander lived many generations before our time, let him continue to receive in future ages also the just and proper praise for his good qualities.[3]

39. Dareius hurried to Babylon and gathered together the survivors of the battle at Issus. He was not crushed in spirit in spite of the tremendous setback he had received, but wrote to Alexander advising him to bear his success as one who was only human and to release the captives in return for a large ransom. He added that he would yield to

[1] This was a well-known cliché in later Greek literature; cp. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 38. 4; *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 7. 329 D; 11. 332 C; 2. 7. 339 A/B.

[2] The words "because of their good fortune" are out of place here, and may belong after "a position of power" three lines before. See the critical note 2 on p. 226.

[3] If we follow the manuscript reading here (critical note 3) we should translate, "he should receive from future writers also just praise proper to their narrative." Arrian (2. 12. 8) is not sure that this incident occurred, but approves it if so. It is praised by Curtius (3. 12. 18-23) and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 21. 4-5).

[3] ἀρεταῖς] ἱστορίαις RX, and F in margin.

βόντα· προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἐντὸς
Ἅλυος χώραν καὶ πόλεις συγχωρήσειν,[1] ἐὰν βου-
2 ληθῇ γενέσθαι φίλος. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος συναγαγὼν
τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀληθινὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπο-
κρυψάμενος, ἑτέραν δὲ γράψας ῥέπουσαν πρὸς τὸ
ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον προσήνεγκε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ
3 τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἐξαπέστειλεν. διόπερ ὁ
Δαρεῖος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν σύνθεσιν
παρασκευὰς μεγάλας ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν τροπὴν ἀποβεβληκότας τὰς
πανοπλίας καθώπλιζεν, ἄλλους δ' ἐπιλεγόμενος εἰς
στρατιωτικὰς τάξεις κατέγραφε· τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν
ἄνω σατραπειῶν δυνάμεις, ἃς ἀπολελοιπὼς ἦν διὰ
4 τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς στρατείας, μετεπέμπετο. καὶ
τέλος τοσαύτην εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν κατα-
σκευὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ὥστε διπλασίαν γενέσθαι τῆς
ἐν Ἰσσῷ παραταξαμένης· ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν γὰρ μυ-
ριάδες πεζῶν, εἴκοσι δ' ἱππέων ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ
χωρὶς ἁρμάτων δρεπανηφόρων πλῆθος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[1] Reiske: συνεχώρησεν.

---

[1] Diodorus is the only author to report this forgery. Three approaches by Dareius to Alexander are mentioned. (1) After the battle of Issus. Justin (11. 12. 1-2), Arrian (2. 14), and Curtius (4. 1. 7-14) state that this letter of Dareius demanded that Alexander withdraw from Asia and release his captives with (Curtius, Justin) or without (Arrian) a ransom. Curtius adds that this letter was cast in an insulting tone, suggesting the manner of the one here stated to have been forged by Alexander. (2) After the capture of Tyre. Dareius now offered the hand of one of his daughters and all the territory west of the Halys River (Curtius, 4. 5. 1-8) or a share in the kingdom (Justin, 11, 12. 3-4). This is approximately the same as the true letter which Diodorus mentions here. Arrian locates at this point what appears elsewhere as the third letter. (3) After the departure from Egypt and before Gaugamela, and connected with Alexander's kindly treatment of Dareius's queen. This took the form of an embassy, probably (Diodorus, 17. 54. 1-6; Curtius, 4. 11; Arrian, 2. 25), rather than a letter (Justin, 11. 12. 7-16; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 29. 4). Dareius offered the hand of another daughter in marriage, cession of all territory west of the Euphrates, and a ransom for the royal women of 10,000 (Plutarch, Arrian) or 30,000 (Diodorus, Curtius, Justin) talents. An extensive correspondence, largely fictional, between Alexander and Dareius was in circulation in antiquity, and fragments of it occur in the papyri (cp. *PSI*, 12. 1285). Much of it found a place in or contributed to the *Alexander Romance*.

Alexander the territory and cities of Asia west of the Halys River if he would sign a treaty of friendship with him. Alexander summoned his Friends to a council and concealed the real letter. Forging another more in accord with his interests he introduced it to his advisers and sent the envoys away empty handed.[1] So Dareius gave up the attempt to reach an agreement with Alexander by diplomatic means and set to work on vast preparations for war. He re-equipped those who had lost their armour in the defeat and he enlisted others and assigned them to military units. He sent for the levies from the upper satrapies,[2] which he had previously left unemployed because of the haste of the last campaign. He took such pains over the constitution of the army that he ended up with one twice the size of that which had been engaged at Issus. He assembled eight hundred thousand infantry and two hundred thousand cavalry, and a force of scythe-bearing chariots in addition. 333/2 B.C.

These were the events of this year.

[2] These are listed by Arrian, 3. 8. 3-6.

40. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Νικηράτου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Ἀτίλιον καὶ Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα Γρύλος[1] Χαλκιδεύς. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ νίκην τοὺς μὲν τελευτήσαντας ἔθαψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις θαυμασθέντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συντελέσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφόρους γενομένους τιμήσας ταῖς ἀξίαις ἑκάστους δωρεαῖς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀνέλαβε τὴν
2 δύναμιν. ἔπειτα προάγων ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ καταντήσας εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις παρέλαβεν, ἑτοίμως τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσδεξαμένων αὐτόν.

Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι βουλομένου τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ θῦσαι προπετέστερον διεκώ-
3 λυσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδου. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου χαλεπῶς ἐνέγκαντος καὶ διαπειλησαμένου πολεμήσειν τὴν πόλιν οἱ Τύριοι τεθαρρηκότως ὑπέμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἅμα μὲν Δαρείῳ χαριζόμενοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν βεβαίαν τηροῦντες καὶ νομίζοντες μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς χάριτος ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπισπώμενοι μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πολυχρόνιον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον πολιορκίαν, διδόντες δ' ἄνεσιν τῷ Δαρείῳ πρὸς τὰς παρασκευάς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πιστεύοντες τῇ τε ὀχυρότητι τῆς νήσου καὶ ταῖς

[1] So RX ; Πρύαλος F (Γρύλλος in margin by 2nd hand).

[1] Nicetes was archon at Athens from July 332 to June 331 B.C. (Arrian, 2. 24. 6, calls him Anicetus). The consuls of 335 B.C. (Broughton, 1. 139) were M. Atilius Regulus Ca-

40. When Niceratus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Atilius and Marcus Valerius, and the one hundred and twelfth Olympic Games were held, in which Grylus of Chalcis was the victor.[1] In this year, Alexander buried the dead from his victory at Issus, including even those of the Persians who had distinguished themselves by courage. Then he performed rich sacrifices to the gods and rewarded those who had borne themselves well in battle with gifts appropriate to each, and rested the army for some days. Then he marched on towards Egypt, and as he came into Phoenicia, received the submission of all the other cities, for their inhabitants accepted him willingly. 332/1 B.C.

At Tyre, however, when the king wished to sacrifice to the Tyrian Heracles,[2] the people overhastily barred him from entering the city ; Alexander became angry and threatened to resort to force, but the Tyrians cheerfully faced the prospect of a siege. They wanted to gratify Dareius and keep unimpaired their loyalty to him, and thought also that they would receive great gifts from the king in return for such a favour. They would draw Alexander into a protracted and difficult siege and give Dareius time for his military preparations, and at the same time they had confidence in the strength of their island and the

lenus and M. Valerius Corvus. The 112th Olympic Games were held in July 332 B.C.

[2] For this Heracles cp. B. C. Brundage, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 17 (1958), 225-236. The siege of Tyre is described by Curtius (4. 2. 1–4. 18 ; Justin, 11. 10. 10-14 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 24. 2–25. 2 ; Arrian, 2. 16-24). It was the time of the great annual festival of the god (Curtius, 4. 2. 10), and the Tyrians may have felt that to allow Alexander to sacrifice at that time would have meant acknowledging his sovereignty.

ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευαῖς, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίοις.

4 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν δυσπολιόρκητον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν διά τε τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργων καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν αὐτῇ δύναμιν ναυτικήν, κατὰ δὲ γῆν σχεδὸν ἀπραγμάτευτον οὖσαν διὰ τὸ τέτταρσι σταδίοις διείργεσθαι τῆς ἠπείρου ὅμως ἔκρινε συμφέρειν πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πόνον ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταφρονηθῆναι τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων δύναμιν ὑπὸ μιᾶς
5 καὶ τῆς τυχούσης πόλεως. εὐθὺς οὖν καθαιρῶν τὴν παλαιὰν λεγομένην Τύρον καὶ πολλῶν μυριάδων κομιζουσῶν τοὺς λίθους χῶμα κατεσκεύαζε δίπλεθρον τῷ πλάτει. πανδημεὶ δὲ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰς πλησίον πόλεις ταχὺ διὰ τὰς[1] πολυχειρίας ἠνύετο τὰ τῶν ἔργων.

41. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προσπλέοντες τῷ χώματι κατεγέλων τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἑαυτὸν δοκεῖ περιέσεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραδόξως τοῦ χώματος αὐξομένου τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας εἰς Καρχηδόνα διακομίζειν ἐψηφίσαντο, τοὺς δ' ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπέλεξαν πρὸς τὴν τειχομαχίαν καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἑτοίμως παρεσκεύαζον, ἔχοντες τριήρεις
2 ὀγδοήκοντα. τέλος δὲ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος μὲν ἔφθασαν ὑπεκθέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, καταταχούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι συνηναγκάσθη-

[1] τὰς Fischer: τῆς codd.

[1] Justin, 11. 10. 12. Curtius (4. 3. 19) reports that the Carthaginians were unable to send reinforcements.

military forces in it. They also hoped for help from their colonists, the Carthaginians.[1] 332/1 B.C.

The king saw that the city could hardly be taken by sea because of the engines mounted along its walls and the fleet that it possessed, while from the land it was almost unassailable because it lay four furlongs away from the coast.[2] Nevertheless he determined to run every risk and make every effort to save the Macedonian army from being held in contempt by a single undistinguished city. Immediately he demolished what was called Old Tyre[3] and set many tens of thousands of men to work carrying stones to construct a mole two plethra in width.[4] He drafted into service the entire population of the neighbouring cities and the project advanced rapidly because the workers were numerous.

41. At first, the Tyrians sailed up to the mole and mocked the king, asking if he thought that he would get the better of Poseidon.[5] Then, as the work proceeded with unexpected rapidity, they voted to transport their children and women and old men to Carthage, assigned the young and able-bodied to the defence of the walls, and made ready for a naval engagement with their eighty triremes. They did succeed in getting a part of their children and women to safety with the Carthaginians,[6] but they were outstripped by the abundance of Alexander's labour force, and, not being able to stop his advance with their ships, were compelled to stand the siege with

[2] Curtius, 4. 2. 7.
[3] Curtius, 4. 2. 18.
[4] Two hundred feet.
[5] Curtius, 4. 2. 20.
[6] Curtius, 4. 3. 20; Justin, 11. 10. 14. Below, in chap. 46. 4, Diodorus states that most of these persons were actually removed to safety.

3 σαν ὑπομεῖναι πανδημεὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἔχοντες
δὲ πολλὴν δαψίλειαν καταπελτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
μηχανῶν τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν χρησίμων ἑτέρας
πολλαπλασίους κατεσκεύασαν ῥᾳδίως διὰ τῶν ἐν
τῇ Τύρῳ μηχανοποιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν
4 παντοδαπῶν ὄντων. διὰ δὲ τούτων ὀργάνων[1] παν-
τοδαπῶν καὶ ξένων ταῖς ἐπινοίαις κατασκευαζο-
μένων ἅπας μὲν ὁ περίβολος τῆς πόλεως ἐπληρώθη
τῶν μηχανῶν, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον
ἐν ᾧ τὸ χῶμα συνήγγιζε τῷ τείχει.
5 Ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν ἄφεσιν τοῦ βέλους διέτεινε τὸ
κατασκευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔργον, καὶ
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τινα προεσημαίνετο τοῖς κινδυ-
νεύουσιν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πελάγους ὁ κλύδων
προσεπέλασε τοῖς ἔργοις κῆτος ἄπιστον τὸ μέγεθος,
ὃ προσπεσὸν τῷ χώματι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο,
τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ μέρει τοῦ σώματος προσανακεκλιμένον
ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἔμενε καὶ πολλὴν κατάπληξιν
6 παρείχετο τοῖς θεωμένοις τὸ παράδοξον, πάλιν δ'
εἰς τὸ πέλαγος νηξάμενον εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀμφο-
τέρους προηγάγετο· ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Ποσει-
δῶνος αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν μέλλοντος διέκρινον τὸ
σημεῖον, ῥέποντες ταῖς γνώμαις πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον
συμφέρον.
7 Ἐγίνετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα παράδοξα, δυνάμενα
διατροπὴν καὶ φόβον τοῖς ὄχλοις παρασχέσθαι.
κατὰ γὰρ τὰς τροφὰς παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν οἱ
διακλώμενοι τῶν ἄρτων αἱματοειδῆ τὴν πρόσοψιν
εἶχον. ἑωρακέναι δέ τις ἔφησεν ὄψιν καθ' ἣν ὁ
Ἀπόλλων ἔλεγε μέλλειν ἑαυτὸν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν.
8 τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ὑπονοήσαντος ὅτι πεπλακὼς εἴη
τὸν λόγον χαριζόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

almost their whole population still in the city. They 332/1 B.C.
had a wealth of catapults and other engines employed for sieges and they had no difficulty in constructing more because of the engineers and artisans of all sorts who were in the city. All kinds of novel devices were fashioned by them, so that the entire circuit of the walls was covered with machines, especially on that side where the mole was approaching the city.[1]

As the Macedonian construction came within range of their missiles, portents were sent by the gods to them in their danger. Out of the sea a tidal wave tossed a sea-monster of incredible size into the midst of the Macedonian operations. It crashed into the mole but did it no harm, remained resting a portion of its body against it for a long time and then swam off into the sea again.[2] This strange event threw both sides into superstition, each imagining that the portent signified that Poseidon would come to their aid, for they were swayed by their own interest in the matter.

There were other strange happenings too, calculated to spread confusion and terror among people. At the distribution of rations on the Macedonian side, the broken pieces of bread had a bloody look.[3] Someone reported, on the Tyrian side, that he had seen a vision in which Apollo told him that he would leave the city. Everyone suspected that the man had made up the story in order to curry favour with

[1] Curtius, 4. 2. 12.
[2] Curtius (4. 4. 3-4) places this event a little later in the siege.
[3] Curtius, 4. 2. 14. Diodorus omits Alexander's favouring dream of Heracles (Curtius, 4. 2. 17 ; Arrian, 2. 18. 1).

---

[1] τῶν ὀργάνων MSS. ; Fischer deleted τῶν.

τῶν νεωτέρων ὁρμησάντων ἐπὶ τὸ λιθοβολῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὗτος μὲν διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκκλαπεὶς[1] καὶ καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν διέφυγε τὴν τιμωρίαν διὰ τὴν ἱκεσίαν, οἱ δὲ Τύριοι δεισιδαιμονήσαντες χρυσαῖς σειραῖς προσέδησαν τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον τῇ βάσει, ἐμποδίζοντες, ὡς ᾤοντο, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χωρισμόν.

42. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Τύριοι τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ χώματος εὐλαβηθέντες ἐπλήρωσαν πολλὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων σκαφῶν ὀξυβελῶν τε καὶ καταπελτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ προσπλεύσαντες τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὸ χῶμα πολλοὺς
2 μὲν κατέτρωσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ ἀπέκτειναν· εἰς ἀνόπλους γὰρ καὶ πυκνοὺς πολλῶν καὶ παντοίων βελῶν φερομένων οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν, ἑτοίμων καὶ ἀφυλάκτων τῶν σκοπῶν κειμένων. συνέβαινε γὰρ οὐ μόνον κατὰ πρόσωπον τὰ φερόμενα βέλη προσπίπτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ νῶτα τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων ὄντων ἐν στενῷ χώματι διικνεῖσθαι καὶ μηδένα δύνασθαι διαφυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν κατατιτρώσκοντας.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ παράλογον τῆς συμφορᾶς βουλόμενος ὀξέως διορθώσασθαι, πληρώσας πάσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ καθηγούμενος αὐτὸς ἔπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Τυρίων καὶ τὴν ἐπάν-
4 οδον τῶν Φοινίκων ὑπετέμνετο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι φοβηθέντες μήποτε κυριεύσας τῶν λιμένων καταλάβηται τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον οὖσαν στρατιωτῶν, κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἀνέπλεον εἰς τὴν Τύρον. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταῖς

[1] So Hertlein (cp. Books 12. 27. 3; 19. 75. 2): κλαπεὶς.

Alexander, and some of the younger citizens set out to stone him; he was, however, spirited away by the magistrates and took refuge in the temple of Heracles, where as a suppliant he escaped the people's wrath, but the Tyrians were so credulous that they tied the image of Apollo to its base with golden cords, preventing, as they thought, the god from leaving the city.[1] 332/1 B.C.

42. Now the Tyrians were alarmed at the advance of the mole, and they equipped many small vessels with both light and heavy catapults [2] together with archers and slingers, and, attacking the workers on the mole, wounded many and killed not a few. As missiles of all sorts in large numbers rained upon unarmed and densely packed men, no soldier missed his mark since the targets were exposed and unsuspecting. The missiles struck not only from the front but also from the back, as men were working on both sides of a rather narrow structure and no one could protect himself from those who shot from two directions.

Alexander moved immediately to rectify what threatened to be a shocking disaster, and manning all his ships [3] and taking personal command of them, made with all speed for the harbour of Tyre to cut off the retreat of the Phoenicians. They in turn were terrified lest he seize the harbour and capture the city while it was empty of soldiers, and rowed back to Tyre as fast as they could. Both fleets plied their oars at a fast stroke in a fury of determination, and

[1] Curtius, 4. 3. 22; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 24. 3-4.
[2] Probably the *oxybeleis* were armed with heavy wooden arrows or quarrels, while the *catapeltae* threw balls of stone.
[3] Alexander was by now in possession of the fleets of the other Phoenician cities (Arrian, 2. 20. 7).

εἰρεσίαις πυκναῖς χρωμένων καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη πλησιαζόντων τοῖς λιμέσιν οἱ Φοίνικες παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ πάντες ἀπολέσθαι, παρεισπεσόντες δ' ὅμως τῇ βίᾳ καὶ τὰς τελευταίας ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

5 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλης ἐπιβολῆς ἀποτυχὼν πάλιν προσεκαρτέρει τῷ χώματι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεῶν παρείχετο τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δ' ἔργων πλησιαζόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως προσδοκωμένης ἀργέστης ἄνεμος μέγας ἐπεγένετο καὶ τοῦ χώματος πολὺ μέρος ἐλυμήνατο.
6 ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπίπτων διὰ τὴν αὐτόματον τῶν ἔργων φθορὰν μετεμέλετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπιβολῇ, ὅμως δὲ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ προαγόμενος ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐκκόπτων ὑπερμεγέθη δένδρα παρεκόμιζε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κλάδοις
7 ἐγχώσας ἐνέφραξε τὴν βίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος. ταχὺ δ' ἀποκαταστήσας τὰ πεπονηκότα τοῦ χώματος καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ προκόψας εἰς βέλους ἄφεσιν ἐπέστησε τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπ' ἄκρον τὸ χῶμα καὶ τοῖς μὲν πετροβόλοις κατέβαλλε τὰ τείχη, τοῖς δ' ὀξυβελέσιν ἀνεῖργε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐφεστῶτας· συνηγωνίζοντο δὲ τούτοις οἵ τε τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παραβοηθοῦντας κατετίτρωσκον.

43. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι χαλκεῖς[1] ἔχοντες τεχνίτας καὶ μηχανοποιοὺς κατεσκεύασαν φιλότεχνα βοηθήματα.

[1] χαλκεῖς Fischer; ἁλιεῖς codd.

---

[1] Curtius, 4. 3. 6-7.
[2] Curtius, 4. 3. 9.
[3] These "counter-measures" do not appear elsewhere in the sources, and Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, 2. 120 f.) may

the Macedonians were already nearing the entrance, but the Phoenicians, by a narrow margin, escaped losing their whole force and, thrusting their way in, got safely to the city with the loss only of the ships at the tail of the column. 332/1 B.C.

So the king failed of this important objective, but nevertheless pushed on with the mole, protecting his workers with a thick screen of ships. As his engines drew close to the city and its capture seemed imminent, a powerful north-west gale blew up and damaged a large part of the mole.[1] Alexander was at a loss to deal with the harm done to his project by the forces of nature and thought of giving up the siege attempt, but driven by ambition he sent to the mountain and felling huge trees, he brought them branches and all and, placing them beside the mole, broke the force of the waves.[2] It was not long before he had restored the collapsed parts of the mole, and pushing on with an ample labour force until he came within missiles' range, he moved his engines out to the end of the causeway, and attacked the walls with his stone throwers, while he employed his light catapults against the men stationed along the battlements. The archers and slingers joined in the barrage, and wounded many in the city who rushed to the defence.

43. The Tyrians had bronze workers and machinists, and contrived ingenious counter-measures.[3]

be right in tracing them ultimately to a technical military manual. It is not impossible that they may be insertions of Diodorus himself and were lacking in his source; Diodorus was interested in curiosities. The wheels appear again below (chap. 45. 3) in somewhat different form. They are otherwise unknown in antiquity (Tarn, p. 121). Apparently they were made to whirl in front of the men on the walls,

πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ καταπελτικὰ βέλη τροχοὺς κατεσκεύασαν διειλημμένους πυκνοῖς διαφράγμασι, τούτους δὲ διά τινος μηχανῆς δινεύοντες τὰ μὲν συνέτριβον, τὰ δὲ παρέσυρον τῶν βελῶν, πάντων δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βίας φορὰν ἐξέλυον· τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν πετροβόλων φερομένους λίθους δεχόμενοι μαλακαῖς τισι καὶ συνενδιδούσαις κατασκευαῖς ἐπράυνον τὴν
2 ἐκ τῆς ὀργανικῆς βίας δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῇ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα προσβολῇ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ τείχη περιεσκέπτετο καὶ φανερὸς ἦν πολιορκήσων τὴν πόλιν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.

3 Τῶν δὲ Τυρίων ἀνταναχθῆναι μὲν τῷ στόλῳ μηκέτι τολμώντων, τρισὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ὁρμούντων πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιπλεύσας αὐταῖς καὶ πάσας συντρίψας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν στρατοπεδείαν. οἱ δὲ Τύριοι βουλόμενοι διπλασιάσαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀποστήσαντες πέντε πήχεις ἕτερον τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμουν δέκα πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν σύριγγα λί-
4 θων καὶ χώματος ἐπλήρουν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τριήρεις ζευγνύων καὶ μηχανὰς παντοδαπὰς αὐταῖς ἐπιστήσας κατέβαλεν ἐπὶ πλέθρον τοῦ τείχους· καὶ
5 διὰ τοῦ πτώματος εἰσέπιπτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Τύριοι τοὺς εἰσβιαζομένους πυκνοῖς βέλεσι βάλλοντες μόγις ἀπεστρέψαντο[1] καὶ τὸ πεπτωκὸς μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνῳκοδόμησαν νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ χώματος συνάψαντος τῷ

[1] ἀπεστρέψαντο RF; ἀπετρέψαντο X; ἀπετρίψαντο Wesseling.

giving them observation through the spokes but protecting

Against the projectiles from the catapults they made wheels with many spokes, and, setting these to rotate by a certain device, they destroyed some of the missiles and deflected others, and broke the force of all. They caught the balls from the stone throwers in soft and yielding materials and so weakened their force. While this attack was going on from the mole, the king sailed around the city with his whole fleet and inspected the walls, and made it clear that he was about to attack the city alike by land and sea. 332/1 B.C.

The Tyrians did not dare to put to sea again with their whole fleet but kept three ships moored at the harbour mouth.[1] The king, however, sailed up to these, sank them all, and so returned to his camp. Wanting to double the security of their walls, the Tyrians built a second one at a distance of five cubits within the first; this was ten cubits in thickness, and the passage between the walls they filled with stones and earth, but Alexander lashed triremes together, mounted his various siege engines upon them, and overthrew the wall for the space of a plethron.[2] Through this breach the Macedonians burst into the city, but the Tyrians rained on them a shower of missiles and managed to turn them back,[3] and when night came, they rebuilt the fallen part of the wall.

Now the causeway had reached the wall and made

them from missiles. The translation here offers difficulties; "wheels divided by thick diaphragms" or "with many barriers at close intervals." Possibly the diaphragms were screens between the wheels.

[1] Curtius, 4. 3. 12; Arrian, 2. 20. 9.

[2] The distances are seven and one-half feet, fifteen feet, and one hundred feet respectively.

[3] Arrian, 2. 22. 7.

τείχει καὶ τῆς πόλεως χερρονήσου γενομένης πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι κατὰ
6 τὴν τειχομαχίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν ἔχοντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως συμφορὰν ἀναλογιζόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὕτω παρέστησαν πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ὥστε τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονῆσαι.
7 τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων προσαγόντων πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἴσους τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰς ἐπιβάθρας ἐπιβαλλόντων καὶ θρασέως ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἐπιβαινόντων οἱ μὲν Τύριοι διὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ὀργανοποιῶν πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν τειχομαχίαν εἶχον
8 βοηθήματα. χαλκευσάμενοι γὰρ εὐμεγέθεις τριόδοντας παρηγκιστρωμένους τούτοις ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καθεστῶτας. ἐμπηγνυμένων δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀσπίδας τούτων καὶ κάλους ἐχόντων προσδεδεμένους εἷλκον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπι-
9 λαμβανόμενοι τῶν κάλων. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἦν ἢ προΐεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ γυμνουμένους τὰ σώματα κατατιτρώσκεσθαι πολλῶν φερομένων βελῶν ἢ τηροῦντας τὰ ὅπλα διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην πίπτειν ἀφ'
10 ὑψηλῶν πύργων καὶ τελευτᾶν. ἄλλοι δ' ἁλιευτικὰ δίκτυα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβαθρῶν διαμαχομένοις ἐπιρριπτοῦντες καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀχρήστους ποιοῦντες κατέσπων καὶ περιεκύλιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιβάθρας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

44. Ἕτερον δ' ἐπενόησαν εὕρεμα φιλότεχνον κατὰ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνδρείας, δι' οὗ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πολεμίων ἀμηχάνοις καὶ δειναῖς περιέβαλον τιμωρίαις. κατασκευάσαντες γὰρ ἀσπίδας χαλκᾶς καὶ σιδηρᾶς καὶ ταύτας πληρώσαντες ἄμμου φλογὶ πολλῇ συνεχῶς ὑπέκαιον καὶ διάπυρον κατεσκεύ-
2 αζον τὴν ἄμμον. ταύτην δὲ διά τινος μηχανῆς τοῖς

the city mainland, and sharp fighting took place along 332/1 B.C.
the walls. The Tyrians had the present danger before their eyes and easily imagined what a disaster the actual capture of the city would be, so that they spent themselves so freely in the contest as to despise mortal danger. When the Macedonians moved up towers as high as the walls and in this way, extending bridges, boldly assaulted the battlements, the Tyrians fell back on the ingenuity of their engineers and applied many counter-measures to meet the assault. They forged great tridents armed with barbs and struck with these at close range the assailants standing on the towers. These stuck in the shields, and as ropes were attached to the tridents, they could haul on the ropes and pull them in. Their victims were faced with the alternative of releasing their arms and exposing their bodies to be wounded by the missiles which showered upon them, or clinging to their shields for shame and perishing in the fall from the lofty towers. Other Tyrians cast fishing nets over those Macedonians who were fighting their way across the bridges and, making their hands helpless, pulled them off and tumbled them down from bridge to earth.

44. They thought of another ingenious device also to offset the Macedonian fighting qualities, by which they involved the bravest of the enemy in a horrible torment which could not be avoided. They fashioned shields of bronze and iron and, filling them with sand, roasted them continuously over a strong fire and made the sand red hot. By means of a certain

θρασύτατα μαχομένοις ἐπερρίπτουν καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς περιέβαλλον τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας· διὰ γὰρ τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν ὑποδυτῶν παρεισπίπτουσα ἡ ἄμμος καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θερμασίας λυμαινομένη τὰς σάρκας ἀβοήθητον ἐποίει
3 τὸ ἀτύχημα. διὸ καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς βασανιζομένοις πᾶσαν δεητικὴν φωνὴν προϊέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐπικουρήσοντας οὐκ εἶχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ πάθους εἰς μανιώδεις διαθέσεις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐτελεύτων, ἐλεεινῷ καὶ ἀμηχάνῳ πάθει περιπίπτοντες.

4 Ἅμα δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐπερρίπτουν καὶ σαυνία καὶ λίθους ἐπέβαλλον οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν κατεπόνουν τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἀνθισταμένων καὶ ταῖς μὲν δρεπανηφόροις κεραίαις τὰς τῶν κριῶν ὁρμιστηρίας ὑποτέμνοντες ἄχρηστον τὴν τῶν ὀργάνων βίαν ἐποίουν, ταῖς δὲ πυρφόροις μύδρους μεγάλους διαπύρους ἐπέβαλλον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐχ ἡμάρτανον τῶν σκοπῶν, τοῖς δὲ κόραξι καὶ ταῖς σιδηραῖς χερσὶν ἀνήρπαζον τοὺς τοῖς θωρακείοις
5 ἐφεστῶτας. τῇ δὲ πολυχειρίᾳ πάσας τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεργεῖς[1] ποιοῦντες πολλοὺς τῶν βιαζομένων ἀπέκτεννον.

45. Ἀνυπερβλήτου δὲ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως οὔσης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δεινότητος ἀνυποστάτου γινομένης οὐδ᾽ ὣς ἔληγον τῆς τόλμης οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ πίπτοντας ὑπερβαίνοντες οὐκ ἐνουθε-
2 τοῦντο ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων συμφοραῖς. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας τόπους[2] τοὺς

[1] ἐνεργεῖς Fischer; ἀνεργεῖς RX; ἀνενεργεῖς F.

apparatus they then scattered this over those Macedonians who were fighting most boldly and brought those within its range into utter misery. The sand sifted down under breastplates and shirts, and scorching the skin with the intense heat inflicted upon them irremediable disaster. They shrieked supplications like those under torture and there was no one to help them, but with the excruciating agony they fell into madness and died, the victims of a pitiable and helpless lot.[1] 332/1 B.C.

At the same time, the Phoenicians poured down fire and flung javelins and stones, and by the volume of their missiles weakened the resolution of the attackers. They let down long poles or spars equipped with concave cutting edges and cut the ropes supporting the rams, thus rendering these instruments useless. With their fire-throwers they discharged huge red-hot masses of metal into the press of the enemy, and where so many men were packed together they did not miss their mark. With "crows" and "iron hands"[2] they dragged over the edge many who were stationed behind the breastworks on the towers. With many hands at work they kept all their engines busy and caused many deaths among the besiegers.

45. They caused extreme terror by all of this and the fury of their fighting became hardly resistible, but the Macedonians did not lose their boldness. As those in front kept falling, those behind moved up and were not deterred by the sufferings of their comrades. Alexander mounted the stone-throwing cata-

[1] Curtius, 4. 3. 25-26. [2] Two forms of grappling irons.

[2] τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας τόπους added by Fischer, *exempli gratia*, from Polybius, 5. 4. 6.

πετροβόλους καταπέλτας καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἀφιεὶς ἐσάλευε τὰ τείχη, τοῖς δ' ὀξυβελέσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων ἐκβάλλων βελῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος δεινῶς κατετίτρωσκε τοὺς ἐφεστῶ-
3 τας τοῖς τείχεσιν. ἀντιμηχανώμενοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Τύριοι πρὸ μὲν τῶν τειχῶν μαρμαρίνους τροχοὺς ἵστανον καὶ διά τινων ὀργάνων τούτους δινεύοντες τὰ φερόμενα βέλη καταπελτικὰ συνέτριβον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια μέρη παράγοντες ἀπράκτους ἐποίουν τὰς
4 τῶν ἀφιεμένων πληγάς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βύρσας καὶ διπλᾶς διφθέρας πεφυκωμένας καταράπτοντες εἰς ταύτας ἀπεδέχοντο τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων πληγάς· καὶ μαλακῆς τῆς ἐνδόσεως γινομένης ἐξ-
5 ελύετο τῶν φερομένων πετρῶν ἡ βία. καθόλου δὲ οἱ Τύριοι πάντα τρόπον εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ κατευποροῦντες τοῖς βοηθήμασι κατεθάρρησαν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς τῶν πύργων στάσεις ἀπολιπόντες ἐπ' αὐτὰς ὠθοῦντο τὰς ἐπιβάθρας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀντ-
6 έταττον τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετάς. διὸ καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ χειρὸς συνιστάμενοι μέγαν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος συνίσταντο καί τινες πελέκεσι τῶν ἀπαντώντων τὸ προσπεσὸν μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀπέκοπτον.

Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡγεμόνων τις, ὄνομα μὲν Ἄδμητος, διαφέρων δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ, τεθαρρηκὼς τὴν βίαν τῶν Τυρίων ὑπέστη καὶ πληγεὶς πελέκει μέσην τὴν κεφαλὴν παραχρῆμα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἡρωικῶς.

7 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὁρῶν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Τυρίων κατισχυομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ

pults in proper places and made the walls rock with 332/1 B.C.
the boulders that they threw. With the dart-throwers on the wooden towers he kept up a constant fire of all kinds of missiles and terribly punished the defenders of the walls. In response, the Tyrians rigged marble wheels in front of the walls and causing these to rotate by some mechanism they shattered the flying missiles of the catapults and, deflecting them from their course, rendered their fire ineffective.[1] In addition, they stitched up hides or pairs of skins and stuffed them with seaweed so as to receive the blows of the stones on these. As these were soft and yielding, the force of the flying stones was lessened. In sum, the Tyrians defended themselves strongly in all regards and showed themselves well provided with the means of defence. They were bold in face of their enemies, and left the shelter of the walls and their positions within the towers to push out onto the very bridges and match the courage of the Macedonians with their own valour. They grappled with the enemy and, fighting hand to hand, put up a stout battle for their city. Some of them used axes to chop off any part of the body of an opponent that presented itself.

There was one of the Macedonian commanders named Admetus who was a conspicuously brave and powerful man.[2] He withstood the fury of the Tyrians with high courage and died heroically, killed instantly when his skull was split by the stroke of an axe.

Alexander saw that the Macedonians were held in check by the resistance of the Tyrians, and, as it

[1] Cp. chap. 43. 1 above, and note.

[2] He commanded the *hypaspistae* or infantry of the guard (Arrian, 2. 23. 2-5). He was killed by a spear thrust, according to Arrian (2. 24. 4).

σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας νυκτὸς ἤδη γενομένης. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκρινε λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ποιεῖσθαι· μετανοήσας δὲ πάλιν καὶ νομίσας αἰσχρὸν εἶναι παραχωρῆσαι Τυρίοις τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν δόξης καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕνα μόνον ὁμογνωμονοῦντα λαβὼν Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτρέπετο.

46. Παρακαλέσας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἑαυτοῦ μὴ λειφθῆναι κατ' ἀνδρείαν ἁπάσας τὰς ναῦς πολεμικῶς κατασκευάσας προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκθύμως κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. κατανοήσας δὲ περὶ τὰ νεώρια τὸ τεῖχος ἀσθενέστερον ὑπάρχειν τούτῳ προσήγαγε τὰς τριήρεις ἐζευγμένας
2 καὶ φερούσας τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας μηχανάς. ἐνταῦθα[1] δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσασθαι πρᾶξιν οὐδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρῶσι πιστευομένην· ἐπιβάθραν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξυλίνου πύργου τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τείχεσιν ἐπιβαλὼν διὰ ταύτης μόνος ἐπέβη τῷ τείχει, οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης φθόνον εὐλαβηθεὶς οὔτε τὴν τῶν Τυρίων δεινότητα καταπλαγείς, ἀλλὰ τὴν καταγωνισαμένην τοὺς Πέρσας δύναμιν ἔχων θεωρὸν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Μακεδόσιν ἀκολουθεῖν προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθηγούμενος τῶν εἰς χεῖρας βιαζομένων τοὺς μὲν τῷ δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τύπτων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐνίους δ' αὐτῇ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀνατρέπων ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ πολλοῦ θράσους ἐποίησε τοὺς πολεμίους.
3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις καθ' ἕτερον μέρος

[1] ἐνταῦθα Dindorf; ἐν ταύταις codd.

---

[1] Curtius, 4. 4. 1.

was now night, recalled his soldiers by a trumpet call. 332/1 B.C.
His first impulse was to break off the siege and march on to Egypt,[1] but he changed his mind as he reflected that it would be disgraceful to leave the Tyrians with all the glory of the operation. He found support in only one of his Friends, Amyntas the son of Andromenes,[2] but turned again to the attack.

46. Alexander addressed the Macedonians, calling on them to dare no less than he. Fitting out all his ships for fighting, he began a general assault upon the walls by land and sea and this was pressed furiously. He saw that the wall on the side of the naval base was weaker than elsewhere, and brought up to that point his triremes lashed together and supporting his best siege engines. Now he performed a feat of daring which was hardly believable even to those who saw it.[3] He flung a bridge across from the wooden tower to the city walls and crossing by it alone gained a footing on the wall, neither concerned for the envy of Fortune nor fearing the menace of the Tyrians. Having as witness of his prowess the great army which had defeated the Persians, he ordered the Macedonians to follow him, and leading the way he slew some of those who came within reach with his spear, and others by a blow of his sabre. He knocked down still others with the rim of his shield, and put an end to the high confidence of the enemy.

Simultaneously in another part of the city the bat-

[2] A prominent Macedonian noble, who served Alexander in various positions of trust until his death in 330 or 329 B.C. (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 57).

[3] Curtius, 4. 4. 10-11. Tarn comments (*Alexander the Great*, 2, p. 120) that this description would fit better the description of a land siege. Arrian's account (2. 23. 5) is quite different.

ὁ κριὸς τύπτων κατέβαλε πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους·
διὰ δὲ τοῦ πτώματος εἰσπεσόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διὰ τῆς ἐπιβάθρας
διαβάντων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μὲν πόλις κατείληπτο,
οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες καὶ παρακαλέ-
σαντες ἀλλήλους ἐνέφραξαν τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ
μαχόμενοι πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες κατεκόπησαν,
4 ὄντες πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοὺς δὲ
νέους πάντας, ὄντας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων,
ἐκρέμασε. σώματα δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆ-
θος εὑρέθη ὥστε τῶν πλείστων εἰς Καρχηδόνα
κεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα γενέσθαι πλείω τῶν
μυρίων καὶ τρισχιλίων.
5 Τύριοι μὲν οὖν γενναιότερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώ-
τερον ὑποστάντες τὴν πολιορκίαν τοσαύταις περιέ-
6 πεσον συμφοραῖς, πολιορκηθέντες μῆνας ἑπτά. ὁ
δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος τὰς χρυσᾶς σειρὰς
καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ περιελόμενος παρήγγειλεν ὀνομάζειν
τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον Ἀπολλὼ φιλαλέξανδρον, τῷ δὲ
Ἡρακλεῖ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συντελέσας καὶ
τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας τιμήσας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς τετε-
λευτηκότας μεγαλοπρεπῶς θάψας τῆς μὲν Τυρίων

[1] Curtius (4. 4. 16) gives the total as 6000, Arrian (2. 24. 4) as 8000. Justin (11. 10. 14) states that Tyre was taken by treachery.

[2] Curtius (4. 4. 17) reports that 2000 men were "crucibus affixi."

[3] Arrian (2. 24. 5) gives the number of survivors as 30,000, and the Macedonian losses as 400. In chap. 41. 2 above, Diodorus stated that only a few of the non-combatants were removed to Carthage.

tering ram, put to its work, brought down a considerable stretch of wall; and when the Macedonians entered through this breach and Alexander's party poured over the bridge on to the wall, the city was taken. The Tyrians, however, kept up the resistance with mutual cries of encouragement and blocked the alleys with barricades, so that all except a few were cut down fighting, in number more than seven thousand.[1] The king sold the women and children into slavery and crucified all the men of military age.[2] These were not less than two thousand. Although most of the non-combatants had been removed to Carthage, those who remained to become captives were found to be more than thirteen thousand.[3] 332/1 B.C.

So Tyre had undergone the siege bravely rather than wisely and come into such misfortunes, after a resistance of seven months.[4] The king removed the golden chains and fetters from Apollo and gave orders that the god should be called "Apollo Philalexander."[5] He carried out magnificent sacrifices to Heracles, rewarded those of his men who had distinguished themselves, and gave a lavish funeral for his own dead. He installed as king of Tyre a man

[4] This length of the siege is given by Plutarch also (*Alexander*, 24. 3), and the city was taken in Hecatombaeon (July; Arrian, 2. 24. 6), probably, if the Macedonian months were equated to the Athenian, on the 29th day. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 25. 2) reports that Alexander, to save a prophecy of Aristander, redesignated that day as the 28th and not the 30th. (In other words, it was a "hollow" month and had no 29th day; Alexander intercalated a second 28th and was prepared to continue the process until the city was taken.)

[5] Another version of the same story is given by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 24. 4. The Tyrians suspected that Apollo intended to desert them (chap. 41. 8), and tied him to his base, calling him an Ἀλεξανδριστής.

πόλεως κατέστησε βασιλέα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Βαλώνυμον,[1] περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ τῆς περιπετείας παράδοξον.

47. Τοῦ γὰρ προϋπάρχοντος βασιλέως Στράτωνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαρεῖον φιλίαν ἐκπεσόντος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν Ἡφαιστίωνι καταστῆσαι βασιλέα τῆς Τύρου τῶν ἰδιοξένων ὃν
2 ἂν προαιρῆται. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὗτος εὐδοκήσας τῷ ξένῳ, παρ' ᾧ τὴν ἐπισταθμίαν ἐπεποίητο κεχαρισμένως, τοῦτον ἐπεβάλετο κύριον ἀναγορεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως· ὁ δὲ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ διαφέρων τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδεμίαν δὲ συγγένειαν ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς γεγονότας βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν
3 δωρεάν. τοῦ δ' Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων ἔφησεν εἶναί τινα τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας ἀπόγονον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σώφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα,
4 πένητα δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολήν. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος τούτῳ τὴν δυναστείαν ὁ λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν κατήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠνομασμένον μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἔν τινι κήπῳ μισθοῦ μὲν ἀντλοῦντα, ῥάκεσι δὲ τοῖς τυ-
5 χοῦσιν ἐσθῆτι χρώμενον. δηλώσας δὲ τὴν περιπέτειαν καὶ περιθεὶς τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν ἁρμόζοντα κόσμον ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα τῶν Τυρίων.
6 ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προσδεξαμένου καὶ τὸ

[1] Βαλώνυμον X; Βαλλώνυμον RF.

[1] Presumably the correct form of the name, Abdalonymus, is preserved in Curtius (4. 1. 15-26) and Justin (11. 10. 8), and it is a proper Phoenician nomenclature, with the meaning "Servant of the gods." Some have wished to see this king as the owner of the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon, now in Istanbul; cp., *e.g.*, I. Kleemann, *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon* (1958), pp. 28 f. In any case, the mention of King Straton shows that the incident occurred in Sidon, not in Tyre. Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 2. 8. 340 C-E, locates it in Paphos (rendering the name Aralynomus). See Addenda.

named Ballonymus,[1] the story of whose career I cannot omit because it is an example of a quite astonishing reversal of fortune. 332/1 B.C.

47. The former king, Straton, was deprived of his throne because of his friendship for Dareius, and Alexander invited Hephaestion to nominate as king of Tyre any personal guest-friend whom he wished. At first he favoured the host with whom he found pleasant lodging, and proposed that he should be designated master of the city. He was prominent among the citizens in wealth and position, but not being related to those who had been kings he would not accept the offer. Hephaestion then asked him to make a choice from among the members of the royal family, and he said that he knew a man of royal descent who was wise and good in all respects, but he was poor in the extreme. Hephaestion nevertheless agreed that he should be given the royal power, and the one who had been given the choice went off to find the man he had named, bearing with him the royal dress, and came upon him drawing water for hire in a garden, dressed in common rags. He informed him of the transformation in his position, dressed him in the king's robe, and gave him the other appropriate trappings of office. Then he conducted him to the market place and proclaimed him king of Tyre. Everyone accepted him with enthusiasm and

παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάσαντος οὗτος μὲν φίλος γενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν τῆς τύχης παράδοξον μεταβολήν.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διήλθομεν, μεταληψόμεθα τὴν διήγησιν.

48. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Εὐρώπην Ἆγις μὲν ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχης διασωθέντων μισθοφόρων ἀναλαβὼν ὀκτακισχιλίους νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἀντείχετο, χαριζόμενος Δα-
2 ρείῳ. προσλαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τούτου καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς πλείους χειρωσάμενος ἠνάγκασε τὰ Περσῶν αἱρεῖσθαι.

Ἀμύντας δ' ὁ φυγὼν ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἀναβὰς συνηγωνίσατο μὲν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, διασωθεὶς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ παρατάξεως μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων[1] μισθοφόρων καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παρουσίας διανύσας εἰς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης ἐπέλεξεν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς στόλου τὰς ἀρκούσας ναῦς εἰς τὸν πλοῦν τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατιώ-
3 ταις, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἐνέπρησε. διαπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ προσλαβόμενος στρατιώτας καὶ ναῦς διέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἀπέφαινεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεστάλθαι στρατηγὸν διὰ τὸ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπην συναγωνιζό-

marvelled at the vicissitudes of Fortune. Thus he became a Friend of Alexander's and took over the kingdom, an instructive example to those who do not know the incredible changes which Fortune can effect. 333/1 B.C.

Now that we have described Alexander's activity, we shall turn our narrative in another direction.

48. In Europe, Agis king of Sparta engaged the services of those mercenaries who had escaped from the battle at Issus, eight thousand in number, and sought to change the political situation in Greece in favour of Dareius. He received from the Persian king ships and money and sailed to Crete, where he captured most of the cities and forced them to take the Persian side.[1]

That Amyntas who had fled from Macedonia and had gone up to Dareius had fought on the Persian side in Cilicia. He escaped, however, from the battle at Issus with four thousand mercenaries[2] and got to Tripolis in Phoenicia before Alexander's arrival. Here he chose from the whole Persian fleet enough ships to transport his soldiers, and burned the rest. He sailed over to Cyprus, took on additional soldiers and ships, and continued on down to Pelusium. Becoming master of that city, he proclaimed that he had been sent by King Dareius as military commander because the satrap of Egypt had been killed fighting

[1] The narrative is continued later, chaps. 62. 6–63. 4; 73. 5-6. Cp. Curtius, 4. 1. 38-40; Arrian, 2. 13. 4-6; 3. 6. 3.

[2] A prominent Macedonian, son of Antiochus, suspected of hostility to Alexander because of his association with Alexander's cousin Amyntas (*SIG*³ 258). Amyntas had deserted to the Persians about 335 B.C. (Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2, no. 58). Curtius (4. 1. 27-33) also gives him 4000 troops, Arrian (2. 13. 2-3) 8000.

[1] τρισχιλίων Q.

4 μενον ἐν Ἰσσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας πεπτωκέναι. ἀναπλεύ-
σας δ᾽ εἰς Μέμφιν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως
παραταξάμενος τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τραπέντων
ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἀτάκτως
διαρπάζουσι τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήσεις καὶ τόν τε
Ἀμύνταν ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντας
5 ἄρδην ἀνεῖλον. Ἀμύντας μὲν οὖν μεγάλαις ἐπι-
βολαῖς ἐγχειρήσας καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σφαλεὶς τοιοῦ-
τον ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος.

Ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων
καὶ στρατηγῶν τινες ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχης μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν διασωθέντες ἀντείχοντο τῶν Περσι-
6 κῶν ἐλπίδων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις ἐπικαίρους κατα-
λαμβανόμενοι διεφύλαττον ταύτας τῷ Δαρείῳ, οἱ
δ᾽ ἔθνη προσαγόμενοι καὶ δυνάμεις περὶ αὑτοὺς
παρασκευαζόμενοι[1] τὰς ἁρμοζούσας χρείας τοῖς ὑπο-
κειμένοις καιροῖς παρείχοντο.

Οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφίσαντο πέμψαι
πρέσβεις πεντεκαίδεκα στέφανον φέροντας χρυσοῦν
παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀριστεῖον[2] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ
7 συνησθησομένους τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν νίκῃ. Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Γάζαν φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ
Περσῶν καὶ δίμηνον προσεδρεύσας εἷλε κατὰ κράτος
τὴν πόλιν.

49. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Σπούριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Τῖτος Οὐετούριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξαν-

[1] παρασκευαζόμενοι F; κατασκευαζόμενοι *cett.*
[2] ἀριστεῖον F; ἀρίστιον Fischer and codd.

[1] His name was Sabaces or Tasiaces (chap. 34. 5).
[2] Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, 2, p. 73) sees here very plau-

at Issus in Cilicia.[1] He sailed up the river to Memphis and defeated the local forces in a battle before the city, but then, as his soldiers turned to plunder, the Egyptians issued out of the city, attacked his men as they were scattered looting estates located in the countryside, and killed Amyntas and all who came with him to the last man. And that was the end of Amyntas, who had set his hand to great undertakings and failed when he had every prospect of success. 332/1 B.C.

His experience was paralleled by those of the other officers and troop leaders who escaped at the head of their military units from the battle at Issus and attempted to maintain the Persian cause. Some got to important cities and held them for Dareius, others raised tribes [2] and furnishing themselves with troops from them performed appropriate duties in the time under review.

The delegates of the League of Corinth voted to send fifteen envoys with a golden wreath as a prize of valour from Greece to Alexander,[3] instructing them to congratulate him on his victory in Cilicia. Alexander, in the meantime, marched down to Gaza, which was garrisoned by the Persians, and took the city by storm after a siege of two months.[4]

49. In the archonship of Aristophanes at Athens, the consuls at Rome were Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius.[5] In this year King Alexander set in order 331/0 B.C.

sibly a reference to the revolt of Cappadocia (Curtius, 4. 1. 34-35; 5. 13).

[3] Curtius, 4. 5. 11-12.

[4] Full accounts of the siege of Gaza are given by Curtius (4. 6. 7-30) and Arrian (2. 25. 4-27). Cp. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 25. 3-4.

[5] Aristophanes was archon at Athens from July 331 to June 330 B.C. The Roman consuls of 334 B.C. were Sp. Postumius Albinus and T. Veturius Calvinus (Broughton, 1, p. 140).

δρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὴν Γάζαν διοικήσας Ἀμύνταν μὲν μετὰ δέκα νεῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας τῶν νέων τοὺς εὐθέτους ἐπιλέξαι πρὸς στρατείαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως παρῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ παρέλαβε πάσας τὰς ἐν
2 αὐτῇ πόλεις χωρὶς κινδύνων· οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἠσεβηκότων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ βιαίως ἀρχόντων ἄσμενοι προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

Καταστήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προῆλθεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος, βουλόμενος χρήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ. κατὰ μέσην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις παρὰ Κυρηναίων στέφανον κομίζοντες καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ δῶρα, ἐν οἷς ἦγον ἵππους τε πολεμιστὰς
3 τριακοσίους καὶ πέντε τέθριππα τὰ κράτιστα. ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν ἀποδεξάμενος φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτούς, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν συναποδημούντων προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἄνυδρον, ὑδρευσάμενος διῄει τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν ἄμμου μέγεθος ἀέριον. ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ τέσσαρσιν ἐξαναλωθέντων τῶν κομιζομένων
4 ὑδάτων εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν παρεγένοντο. εἰς ἀθυμίαν οὖν πάντων ἐμπεσόντων ἄφνω πολὺς ὄμβρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερράγη, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῶν ὑγρῶν ἔνδειαν παραδόξως διωρθούμενος· διὸ καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἔδοξεν ἀνελπίστως σωθεῖσι θεῶν προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι.
5 ὑδρευσάμενοι δ᾽ ἔκ τινος κοιλάδος, ἐπὶ τέσσαρας

[1] This was Amyntas the son of Andromenes (chap. 45. 7). Curtius (4. 6. 30) mentions the same incident. His brother Simmias took over his battalion of the phalanx in his absence. He rejoined Alexander in 331 (chap. 65. 1 ; cp. Arrian, 3. 16. 10).

[2] Curtius, 4. 7. 1. Arrian (3. 1. 2) limits this friendliness to Mazaces, the Persian satrap.

the affairs of Gaza and sent off Amyntas with ten ships 331/0 B.C.
to Macedonia,[1] with orders to enlist the young men who were fit for military service. He himself with all his army marched on to Egypt and secured the adhesion of all its cities without striking a blow. For since the Persians had committed impieties against the temples and had governed harshly, the Egyptians welcomed the Macedonians.[2]

Having settled the affairs of Egypt, Alexander went off to the Temple of Ammon, where he wished to consult the oracle of the god. When he had advanced half way along the coast, he was met by envoys from the people of Cyrenê,[3] who brought him a crown and magnificent gifts, among which were three hundred chargers and five handsome four-horse chariots. He received the envoys cordially and made a treaty of friendship and alliance with them ; then he continued with his travelling companions on to the temple. When he came to the desert and waterless part, he took on water and began to cross a country covered with an infinite expanse of sand. In four days their water had given out and they suffered from fearful thirst. All fell into despair, when suddenly a great storm of rain burst from the heavens,[4] ending their shortage of water in a way which had not been foreseen, and which, therefore, seemed to those so unexpectedly rescued to have been due to the action of divine Providence. They refilled their containers from a hollow in the ground, and again with a four

[3] Curtius, 4. 7. 9. This incident is omitted by Arrian. For the Siwah visit in general see Curtius, 4. 7. 6-32 ; Justin, 11. 11. 2-12 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 26. 6–27 ; Arrian, 3. 3-4.

[4] Curtius, 4. 7. 14 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 27. 1 ; Arrian, 3. 3. 4.

ἡμέρας ἔχοντες ἀρκοῦσαν τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ διελθόντες ἡμέρας τέσσαρας διεξεπέρασαν[1] τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἀδήλου δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ καθεστώσης διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἄμμου οἱ καθηγούμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ προσήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ διότι κόρακες δεξιοὶ κλάζοντες τὴν τρίβον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν φερούσης ἀτραποῦ προσημαίνου-
6 σιν. οἰωνισάμενος δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαλαβὼν δέχεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἀσμένως τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ προῆγε κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατήνυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πικρὰν καλουμένην λίμνην, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευθεὶς σταδίους ἑκατὸν παρήλλαξε τὰς ἐπικαλουμένας Ἄμμωνος πόλεις· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὁδοιπορήσας μίαν ἡμέραν συνήγγισε τῷ τεμένει.

50. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο χώρα περιέχεται ὑπὸ ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου τῆς ἀμμώδους,[2] πάσης φιλανθρωπίας ἐστερημένης.[3] αὐτὴ δ' ἐπὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα παρήκουσα πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς ὕδασι ναματιαίοις διαρρεῖται, δένδρων δὲ παντοδαπῶν καὶ μάλιστα καρπίμων πληθύει· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀέρα τῇ κράσει παραπλήσιον ἔχει ταῖς ἐαριναῖς ὥραις, τόποις δὲ καυματώδεσι περιεχομένη μόνη παρηλλαγμένην παρέχεται τοῖς
2 ἐνδιατρίβουσι τὴν εὐκρασίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τέμενός φασιν ἱδρύσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, τὴν δὲ ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ χώραν περιοικοῦσι κατὰ μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ δύσιν Αἰθίοπες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον

[1] διεξεπέρασαν Post (cp. Herodotus, 3. 4. 3); διεξέπεσαν codd.

days' supply in hand marched for four days and came out of the desert.[1] At one point, when their road could not be traced because of the sand dunes, the guide pointed out to the king that crows cawing on their right were calling their attention to the route which led to the temple.[2] Alexander took this for an omen, and thinking that the god was pleased by his visit pushed on with speed. First he came to the so-called Bitter Lake, and then, proceeding another hundred furlongs, he passed by the Cities of Ammon.[3] Then, after a journey of one day, he approached the sanctuary. 331/0 B.C.

50. The land where this temple lies is surrounded by a sandy desert and waterless waste, destitute of anything good for man. The oasis is fifty furlongs in length and breadth and is watered by many fine springs, so that it is covered with all sorts of trees, especially those valued for their fruit. It has a moderate climate like our spring and, surrounded as it is by very hot regions, alone furnishes to its people a contrasting mildness of temperature.[4] It is said that the sanctuary was built by Danaüs the Egyptian. The land, which is sacred to the god, is occupied on the south and west by Ethiopians, and on the north by

[1] The four days are mentioned by Curtius, 4. 7. 15.
[2] The crows come from Aristobulus; Arrian, 3. 3. 6; cp. Curtius, 4. 7. 15; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 27. 2-3.
[3] These localities are not mentioned by the other sources, and the first looks like a mistake for the salt lakes at the Wadi Natrun. There is a small oasis between Mersa Matruh and Siwah, but this could hardly be the "Cities of Ammon." The total map distance from the coast to Siwah is about 90 miles.
[4] Curtius, 4. 7. 17.

[2] ἀμμώδους codd.; ἄμμου RX, which may be better.
[3] ἐστερημένης Cospius; ἐστερημένη codd.

Λιβύων νομαδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνῆκον τὸ τῶν Νασαμώνων ὀνομαζομένων ἔθνος.

3 Τῶν δ' Ἀμμωνίων κωμηδὸν οἰκούντων κατὰ μέσην αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀκρόπολις ὑπάρχει τριπλοῖς ὠχυρωμένη τοῖς τείχεσι· καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν πρῶτος περίβολος ἔχει τῶν ἀρχαίων δυναστῶν βασίλεια, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ συγγενῶν οἰκήσεις καὶ φυλακτήρια τῶν σκοπῶν,[1] ἔτι δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σηκὸν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν κρήνην, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ τῷ θεῷ προσφερόμενα τυγχάνει τῆς ἁγνείας, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς τῶν δορυφόρων καταλύσεις καὶ τὰ φυλακτήρια τῶν τὸν τύραννον δορυφορούντων.

4 Καθίδρυται δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκτὸς οὐ μακρὰν ἕτερος ναὸς Ἄμμωνος πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις δένδροις σύσκιος. τούτου δὲ πλησίον ὑπάρχει κρήνη διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὀνομαζομένη Ἡλίου κρήνη· αὕτη δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔχει συμμεταβαλλόμενον αἰεὶ ταῖς
5 ἡμεριναῖς ὥραις παραδόξως. ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ γὰρ ἐξίησι τὴν πηγὴν χλιαράν, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ προσθέσει τῶν ὡρῶν ἀνάλογον καταψύχεται, τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ δὲ καύματος ἀκμάζει τῇ ψυχρότητι· πάλιν δὲ ἀνάλογον ἀπολήγει πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀναθερμαίνεται μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολήγει, μέχρι ἂν

[1] σκοπῶν Fischer; τόπων codd.

[1] Curtius's account (4. 7. 18-19) is more systematic: Ethiopians on the east and west, Trogodytes on the south, Nasamonians on the north. Strabo (17. 3. 20) calls the Nasamonians a Libyan people, and states (2. 5. 33) that they live on the coast near the Syrtes.

the Libyans, a nomadic people, and the so-called Nasamonians who reach on into the interior.[1] 331/0 B.C.

All the people of Ammon dwell in villages. In the midst of their country there is a fortress secured by triple walls.[2] The innermost circuit encloses the palace of the ancient rulers; the next, the women's court, the dwellings of the children, women, and relatives, and the guardrooms of the scouts, as well as the sanctuary of the god and the sacred spring, from the waters of which offerings addressed to the god take on holiness; the outer circuit surrounds the barracks of the king's guards and the guardrooms of those who protect the person of the ruler.[3]

Outside of the fortress at no great distance there is another temple of Ammon shaded by many large trees, and near this is the spring which is called the Spring of the Sun from its behaviour.[4] Its waters change in temperature oddly in accordance with the times of day. At sunrise it sends forth a warm stream, but as the day advances it grows cooler proportionally with the passage of the hours, until under the noonday heat it reaches its extreme degree of cold. Then again in the same proportion it grows warmer toward evening and as the night advances it continues to heat up until midnight when again the trend is reversed,

[2] Curtius, 4. 7. 20-21. For a description of Siwah and its antiquities see Ahmed Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis, Its History and Antiquities* (1944); *The Oasis of Siwa, Its Customs, History and Monuments* (1950). The fortress and the shrine of the oracle were on the hill called Aghurmi, never systematically excavated.

[3] Curtius's description of the fortress (4. 7. 21) is clearer. The inner walls enclosed the palace; the second, the dwellings of wives, concubines, and children, and the shrine of the oracle; the third, the quarters of the guards.

[4] Curtius, 4. 7. 22; Arrian, 3. 4. 2.

ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκατασταθῇ τάξιν.

6 Τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ξόανον ἐκ σμαράγδων καί τινων ἄλλων πολυτελῶν λίθων[1] περιέχεται καὶ τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιάζουσαν παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεὼς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα· οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεὸν προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως ὅπου[2] ποτ' ἂν ἄγῃ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νεῦμα
7 τὴν πορείαν. συνακολουθεῖ δὲ πλῆθος παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν παιᾶνας ᾀδόντων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πατρίῳ καθυμνούντων[3] ᾠδῇ τὸν θεόν.

51. Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τῶν ἱερέων εἰσαχθέντος εἰς τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὸν θεὸν κατανοήσαντος ὁ μὲν προφητεύων ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἡλικίαν προσελθὼν αὐτῷ, Χαῖρε, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ· καὶ ταύτην
2 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχε τὴν πρόσρησιν. ὁ δ' ὑπολαβών, Δέχομαι, φησίν, ὦ πάτερ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κεκλήσομαι σός. ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι[4] εἴ μοι δίδως τὴν ἁπάσης γῆς ἀρχήν. τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως προσελθόντος τῷ σηκῷ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν αἰρόντων τὸν θεὸν κινηθέντων τεταγμένοις τισὶ τῆς φωνῆς συμβόλοις ὁ μὲν ἀνεῖπεν βεβαίως αὐτῷ διδόναι τὸν θεὸν τὴν αἴτησιν, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπολαβών, Τὸ λοιπόν, εἶπεν, ὦ δαῖμον, ἀπόφηναί μοι τῶν ζητουμένων, εἰ πάντας ἤδη

[1] πολυτελῶν λίθων added by Fischer, perhaps unnecessarily.
[2] Dindorf corrected ὅπου to ὅποι.
[3] Wesseling corrected ᾀδόντων and καθυμνούντων to ᾀδουσῶν and καθυμνουσῶν. R. Laqueur (*Hermes*, 86, 1958, 261) also would keep the manuscript readings.
[4] εἰπέ μοι supplied by Madvig; I am not sure that the words are necessary.

and at daybreak once more the waters have returned 331/0 B.C.
to their original temperature.

The image of the god is encrusted with emeralds and other precious stones, and answers those who consult the oracle in a quite peculiar fashion. It is carried about upon a golden boat by eighty priests, and these, with the god on their shoulders, go without their own volition wherever the god directs their path. A multitude of girls and women follows them singing paeans as they go and praising the god in a traditional hymn.[1]

51. When Alexander was conducted by the priests into the temple and had regarded the god for a while, the one who held the position of prophet, an elderly man, came to him and said, "Rejoice, son[2]; take this form of address as from the god also." He replied, "I accept, father; for the future I shall be called thy son. But tell me if thou givest me the rule of the whole earth." The priest now entered the sacred enclosure and as the bearers now lifted the god and were moved according to certain prescribed sounds of the voice,[3] the prophet cried that of a certainty the god had granted him his request, and Alexander spoke again: "The last, O spirit, of my questions now answer; have I punished all those who were the

[1] Curtius, 4. 7. 23-24. The god gave his responses by nods and signs, as Callisthenes reported (Strabo, 17. 1. 43), just as did later the Apollo of Hierapolis (Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 36). The temple procedure is quite typical of the Egyptian temples, where the god's image was carried about in a boat-shaped litter or tray.
[2] Curtius, 4. 7. 25; Justin, 11. 11. 2-12; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 27. 5.
[3] It is not clear whose voice this was which uttered "symbols." Perhaps the automatic movements of the bearers were symbols which could be interpreted in oral responses.

μετελήλυθα τοὺς γενομένους φονεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἤ
3 τινες διαλελήθασιν. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀνεβόησεν, Εὐ-
φήμει· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν τὸν δυνησό-
μενον ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ γεννήσαντι αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ
τοῦ Φιλίππου φονεῖς ἅπαντας τετευχέναι τιμω-
ρίας. τεκμήρια δ' ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως
τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι κατορθωμάτων·
καὶ γὰρ πρότερον ἀήττητον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ
4 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι διὰ παντὸς ἀνίκητον. ὁ δ'
Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς κεχρησμῳδημένοις καὶ
τὸν θεὸν μεγαλοπρεπέσιν ἀναθήμασι τιμήσας ἐπαν-
ῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

52. Κρίνας δ' ἐν ταύτῃ πόλιν μεγάλην κτίσαι
προσέταξε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην κατα-
λειπομένοις ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τῆς θα-
2 λάσσης οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν. διαμετρήσας δὲ τὸν
τόπον καὶ ῥυμοτομήσας φιλοτέχνως τὴν πόλιν ἀφ'
αὑτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εὐκαιρότατα
μὲν κειμένην πλησίον τοῦ Φάρου λιμένος, εὐστοχίᾳ
δὲ τῆς ῥυμοτομίας ποιήσας διαπνεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν
τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἀνέμοις καὶ τούτων πνεόντων μὲν διὰ
τοῦ μεγίστου πελάγους, καταψυχόντων δὲ τὸν
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀέρα πολλὴν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν εὐ-
3 κρασίαν καὶ ὑγίειαν κατεσκεύασεν. καὶ τὸν μὲν
περίβολον αὐτῆς ὑπεστήσατο τῷ τε μεγέθει δια-
φέροντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα θαυμάσιον· ἀνὰ
μέσον γὰρ ὢν μεγάλης λίμνης καὶ θαλάσσης δύο
μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔχει προσόδους στενὰς καὶ
παντελῶς εὐφυλάκτους.

murderers of my father or have some escaped me ?" 331/0 B.C. The prophet shouted : "Silence ! There is no mortal who can plot against the one who begot him. All the murderers of Philip, however, have been punished. The proof of his divine birth will reside in the greatness of his deeds ; as formerly he has been undefeated, so now he will be unconquerable for all time." Alexander was delighted with these responses. He honoured the god with rich gifts and returned to Egypt.[1]

52. He decided to found a great city in Egypt, and gave orders to the men left behind with this mission to build the city between the marsh and the sea.[2] He laid out the site and traced the streets skilfully and ordered that the city should be called after him Alexandria. It was conveniently situated near the harbour of Pharos, and by selecting the right angle of the streets, Alexander made the city breathe with the etesian winds [3] so that as these blow across a great expanse of sea, they cool the air of the town, and so he provided its inhabitants with a moderate climate and good health. Alexander also laid out the walls so that they were at once exceedingly large and marvellously strong. Lying between a great marsh and the sea, it affords by land only two approaches, both narrow and very easily blocked.

[1] Curtius, 4. 7. 27-28 ; Justin, 11. 11. 9 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 27. 3-4. See Addenda.

[2] Curtius, 4. 8. 1-6 ; Justin, 11. 11. 13 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 26. 2-6 ; Arrian, 3. 1. 5–2. 2. Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin follow the tradition of Aristobulus (Arrian, 3. 4. 5) in placing the foundation of Alexandria after Alexander's visit to Siwah ; Plutarch and Arrian follow Ptolemy in locating it before the visit. The marsh is Lake Mareotis.

[3] The north-western winds of summer. This description of Alexandria is based on Diodorus's own observation (Introd. p. 6), and is lacking in the other Alexander histories.

Τὸν δὲ τύπον ἀποτελῶν χλαμύδι παραπλήσιον ἔχει πλατεῖαν μέσην σχεδὸν τὴν πόλιν τέμνουσαν καὶ τῷ τε μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει θαυμαστήν· ἀπὸ γὰρ πύλης ἐπὶ πύλην διήκουσα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὸ μῆκος, πλέθρου δὲ τὸ πλάτος, οἰκιῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερῶν πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς πᾶσα
4 κεκόσμηται. προσέταξεν δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ βασίλεια κατασκευάσαι θαυμαστὰ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ βάρος τῶν ἔργων. οὐ μόνον δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσαντες Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες πολυ-
5 τελέσι κατασκευαῖς ηὔξησαν τὰ βασίλεια. καθόλου δ' ἡ πόλις τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ὥστε παρὰ πολλοῖς αὐτὴν πρώτην ἀριθμεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην· καὶ γὰρ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ προσόδων πλήθει καὶ τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν
6 ἀνηκόντων πολὺ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων. τὸ δὲ τῶν κατοικούντων οἰκητόρων αὐτὴν πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλει τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἰκήτορας· καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἡμεῖς παρεβάλομεν χρόνον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔφασαν οἱ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἔχοντες τῶν κατοικούντων εἶναι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβοντας ἐλευθέρους πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν προσόδων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον λαμβάνειν τὸν βασιλέα πλείω τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων.

7 Ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστήσας τινὰς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ διοικήσας ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.

53. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν

[1] The contemporary description of Strabo (17. 1. 7-10) says

In shape, it is similar to a chlamys, and it is approximately bisected by an avenue remarkable for its size and beauty. From gate to gate it runs a distance of forty furlongs [1]; it is a plethron [2] in width, and is bordered throughout its length with rich façades of houses and temples. Alexander gave orders to build a palace notable for its size and massiveness. And not only Alexander, but those who after him ruled Egypt down to our own time, with few exceptions have enlarged this with lavish additions. The city in general has grown so much in later times that many reckon it to be the first city of the civilized world, and it is certainly far ahead of all the rest in elegance and extent and riches and luxury. The number of its inhabitants surpasses that of those in other cities. At the time when we were in Egypt, those who kept the census returns of the population said that its free residents were more than three hundred thousand,[3] and that the king received from the revenues of the country more than six thousand talents. 331/0 B.C.

However that may be, King Alexander charged certain of his Friends with the construction of Alexandria, settled all the affairs of Egypt, and returned with his army to Syria.[4]

53. By the time he heard of his arrival, Dareius

thirty furlongs. The ancient circuit of the walls has not been traced.

[2] One hundred feet.

[3] A papyrus of later date has been interpreted as stating that the citizens of Alexandria numbered 180,000, but this is very uncertain (H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 1954, no. III, col. i. 15).

[4] Further details are given by Curtius, 4. 8. 4-9; Arrian, 3. 5. 2-7. Alexander reached Thapsacus in the Attic month Hecatombaeon (Arrian, 3. 7. 1; about July/August 331; see below, p. 278, note 2).

συνηθροίκει μὲν τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν παράταξιν χρήσιμα κατεσκεύαστο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξίφη καὶ τὰ ξυστὰ πολὺ μείζω τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐποίησε διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν διὰ τούτων πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ περὶ Κιλικίαν μάχῃ πεπλεονεκτηκέναι· κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ φόβον
2 τῶν πολεμίων εὐθέτως ἐπινενοημένα. τούτων γὰρ ἑκάστου παρ' ἑκάτερον τῶν σειροφόρων[1] ἵππων ἐξέκειτο προσηλωμένα τῷ ζυγῷ ξῦστρα παραμήκη τρισπίθαμα, τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπιφάνειαν, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς κατακλείσεσι[2] τῶν ἀξόνων ἐπ' εὐθείας ἄλλα δύο, τὴν μὲν τομὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς προτέροις, τὸ δὲ μῆκος μείζω καὶ πλατύτερα· συνήρμοστο δὲ ταῖς τούτων ἀρχαῖς δρέπανα.

3 Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἔν τε ὅπλοις ἐπισήμοις καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἀρεταῖς κοσμήσας ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας, ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν δεξιὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸν Τίγριν, ἀριστερὸν δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην προῄει διὰ χώρας εὐδαίμονος καὶ δυναμένης τοῖς κτήνεσι δαψιλῆ χορτάσματα παρασχέσθαι, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν στρα-

[1] σειροφόρων F; σιροφόρων *cett.*
[2] κατακλείσεσι Bosius and Reiske; κατακλίσεσι codd.

had already assembled his forces from all directions and made everything ready for the battle. He had fashioned swords and lances much longer than his earlier types because it was thought that Alexander had had a great advantage in this respect in the battle in Cilicia. He had also constructed two hundred scythe-bearing chariots well designed to astonish and terrify the enemy.[1] From each of these there projected out beyond the trace horses scythes three spans long,[2] attached to the yoke, and presenting their cutting edges to the front. At the axle housings there were two more scythes pointing straight out with their cutting edges turned to the front like the others, but longer and broader. Curved blades were fitted to the ends of these.[3] 331/0 B.C.

All of the force the king adorned with shining armour and with brilliant commanders. As he marched out of Babylon, he had with him eight hundred thousand infantry and no less than two hundred thousand cavalry.[4] He kept the Tigris on the right of his route and the Euphrates on the left, and proceeded through a rich country capable of furnishing ample fodder for the animals and food enough for so

[1] Curtius, 4. 9. 3-5; Arrian, 3. 8. 6.
[2] About twenty-seven inches.
[3] Curtius, 4. 9. 5 is a little clearer than Diodorus. He adds that a spear projected forward from the end of the chariot pole and that blades below the chariot reached towards the ground. He also mentions swords projecting from both ends of the yoke, as would be possible in a two-horse chariot. But Diodorus's trace horses would seem to make these impossible.
[4] The Persian forces numbered 500,000 according to Justin (11. 12. 5), 1,000,000 according to Plutarch (*Alexander*, 31. 1), 1,000,000 foot and 40,000 horse according to Arrian (3. 8. 6). Curtius gives the totals later (4. 12. 13) and more reasonably: 45,000 horse and 200,000 infantry.

4 τιωτῶν ἱκανὰς τροφὰς χορηγῆσαι. ἔσπευδε γὰρ περὶ τὴν Νίνον ποιήσασθαι τὴν παράταξιν, εὐθετωτάτων ὄντων τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πεδίων καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν παρεχομένων τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἠθροισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων. καταστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ περὶ κώμην τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἄρβηλα τὰς δυνάμεις ἐνταῦθα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐξέταττε καὶ τῇ συνεχεῖ διατάξει καὶ μελέτῃ κατεσκεύασεν εὐπειθεῖς· σφόδρα γὰρ ἠγωνία μήποτε πολλῶν καὶ ἀσυμφώνων ἐθνῶν ἠθροισμένων ταῖς διαλέκτοις ταραχή τις γένηται κατὰ τὴν παράταξιν.

54. Περὶ δὲ διαλύσεως καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐκχωρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ χώρας, καὶ προσεπηγγέλλετο δώσειν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δισμύρια.[1]
2 ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν ἄλλους πρέσβεις, ἐπαινῶν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς κεχρῆσθαι τῇ τε μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰχμαλώτοις, ἀξιῶν δὲ φίλον γενέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου χώραν καὶ τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου τρισμύρια[2] καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων γυναῖκα, καθόλου δὲ γενόμενον γαμβρὸν καὶ τάξιν υἱοῦ λαβόντα
3 καθάπερ κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς ὅλης βασιλείας, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραλαβὼν πάντας

[1] δισμύρια Fischer ; δισχίλια R ; πεντακισχίλια F.
[2] τρισμύρια F (in first hand) ; τρισχίλια RX and F (second hand).

---

[1] In Curtius also (4. 9. 6), Dareius started his march from the left bank of the Euphrates at Babylon and crossed over to the left bank of the Tigris at some unspecified point upstream. Arrian suggests (3. 8. 3-6) that Dareius's army

many soldiers.[1] He had in mind to deploy for battle in the vicinity of Nineveh, since the plains there were well suited to his purpose and afforded ample manœuvre room for the huge forces at his disposal. Pitching camp at a village named Arbela, he drilled his troops daily and made them well disciplined by continued training and practice. He was most concerned lest some confusion should arise in the battle from the numerous peoples assembled who differed in speech. 331/0 B.C.

54. On the other hand, just as he had previously[2] sent envoys to Alexander to treat for peace, offering to concede to him the land west of the Halys River, and also to give him twenty thousand talents of silver, but Alexander would not agree, so now again Dareius sent other envoys praising Alexander for his generous treatment of Dareius's mother and the other captives and inviting him to become a friend. He offered him all the territory west of the Euphrates, thirty thousand talents of silver,[3] and the hand of one of his daughters. Alexander would become Dareius's son-in-law and occupy the place of a son, while sharing in the rule of the whole empire.[4] Alexander brought together all his Friends into a council and laid before

mustered east of the Tigris, perhaps not far from the actual battlefield.

[2] The diplomatic exchanges between Dareius and Alexander are discussed above on chap. 39, p. 228, note 1.

[3] These figures are variously reported in the manuscripts ; see notes 1 and 2 on the opposite page.

[4] It was a common practice among the Persians as later among the Seleucids for the king to share the administration of his huge realm with the crown prince. According to this offer, Dareius would rule the east, Alexander the west, but the kingdom would remain a unit. The territory offered to Alexander was approximately that which later became a part of the Roman Empire.

τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τῶν προτιθεμένων αἱρέσεων ἀνακοινωσάμενος ἠξίου τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην ἕκαστον
4 μετὰ παρρησίας ἀποφήνασθαι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα συμβουλεῦσαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ζητήσεως, Παρμενίων δὲ πρῶτος εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν ὢν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλαβον ἂν τὰ δι-
5 δόμενα καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐποιησάμην. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Κἀγὼ εἰ Παρμενίων ἦν ἔλαβον ἄν.

Καθόλου δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις μεγαλοψύχοις λόγοις χρησάμενος καὶ τοὺς μὲν λόγους τῶν Περσῶν ἀποδοκιμάσας, προτιμήσας δὲ τὴν εὐδοξίαν τῶν προτεινομένων δωρεῶν τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν ὡς οὔθ' ὁ κόσμος δυεῖν ἡλίων ὄντων τηρῆσαι δύναιτ' ἂν[1] τὴν ἰδίαν διακόσμησίν τε καὶ τάξιν οὔθ' ἡ οἰκουμένη δύο βασιλέων ἐχόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀταράχως καὶ ἀστασιάστως διαμένειν ἂν
6 δύναιτο. διόπερ ἀπαγγέλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε τῷ Δαρείῳ, εἰ μὲν τῶν πρωτείων ὀρέγεται, διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων μοναρχίας· εἰ δὲ δόξης καταφρονῶν προκρίνει τὴν λυσιτέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ῥᾳστώνης τρυφήν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποιείτω τὰ προσταττόμενα, ἄλλων δὲ ἄρχων βασιλευέτω, συγχωρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρηστότητος.

7 Τὸ δὲ συνέδριον διαλύσας καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδείαν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις τῆς τοῦ Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθαψεν αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

[1] δύναται RX.

them the alternatives. He urged each to speak his own mind freely. None of the rest, however, dared to give an opinion in a matter of this importance, but Parmenion spoke up and said: "If I were Alexander, I should accept what was offered and make a treaty." Alexander cut in and said: "So should I, if I were Parmenion." 331/0 B.C.

He continued with proud words and refuted the arguments of the Persians, preferring glory to the gifts which were extended to him. Then he told the envoys that the earth could not preserve its plan and order if there were two suns nor could the inhabited world remain calm and free from war so long as two kings shared the rule.[1] He bade them tell Dareius that, if he desired the supremacy, he should do battle with him to see which of them would have sole and universal rule. If, on the other hand, he despised glory and chose profit and luxury with a life of ease, then let him obey Alexander, but be king over all other rulers,[2] since this privilege was granted him by Alexander's generosity.

Alexander dismissed the council and ordering his forces to resume their march, he advanced on the camp of the enemy. At this juncture the wife of Dareius died and Alexander gave her a sumptuous funeral.[3]

[1] The quip, "So should I if I were Parmenion," occurs in all the sources. The "two suns" metaphor is given otherwise only by Justin (11. 12. 15).

[2] This is a concept in keeping with the feudal organization of the Persian empire. The king was, quite literally, "king of kings"; if he accepted Alexander's overlordship, he might still be king of all the other kings of "Iran and non-Iran."

[3] Plutarch, also (*Alexander*, 30), places this incident after Dareius's embassy. Curtius (4. 10. 18-34) and Justin (11. 12.

55. Δαρεῖος δὲ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἀκούσας καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων σύνθεσιν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν μὲν δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν συνέταττε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εὐηκοΐαν ἑτοίμην κατεσκεύαζε, τῶν δὲ φίλων Μαζαῖον μὲν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐξαπέστειλε παραφυλάξοντα τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸν πόρον προκαταληψόμενον, ἑτέρους δ' ἐξέπεμψε τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσοντας δι' ἧς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν διελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῷ μὲν ῥεύματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβλήματι χρῆσθαι πρὸς
2 τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Μακεδόνων. τούτων δ' ὁ μὲν Μαζαῖος ὁρῶν ἀδιάβατον ὄντα τὸν ποταμὸν διά τε τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ ῥεύματος τῆς μὲν τούτου φυλακῆς ἠμέλησε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν χώραν πυρπολοῦσι συνεργήσας καὶ πολλὴν γῆν διαφθείρας ὑπέλαβεν ἄβατον ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς.
3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Τίγρεως ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸν πόρον ὑπό τινων ἐγχωρίων μαθὼν διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν οὐ μόνον ἐπιπόνως, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικινδύνως.
4 τοῦ γὰρ πόρου τὸ μὲν βάθος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν, τοῦ δὲ ῥεύματος ἡ ὀξύτης πολλοὺς τῶν διαβαινόντων παρέσυρεν καὶ τὴν βάσιν τῶν σκελῶν παρηρεῖτο, τό τε ῥεῦμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπῖπτον πολλούς τε παρέφερε καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις περιέβαλλεν.
5 ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀντιμηχανώμενος παρήγγειλε πᾶσι τὰς χεῖρας

6-7) place it before the embassy. This was the summer of 331. She had been taken prisoner in November, 333, but Plutarch, *Alexander*, 30. 1, states that she died in childbirth.

55. Dareius heard Alexander's answer and gave up any hope of a diplomatic settlement. He continued drilling his troops each day and brought their battle discipline to a satisfactory state. He sent off one of his Friends, Mazaeus, with a picked body of men to guard the crossing of the river and to seize and hold the ford. Other troops he sent out to scorch the earth over which the enemy must come. He thought of using the bed of the Tigris as a defence against the advance of the Macedonians.[1] Mazaeus, however, looked upon the river as uncrossable because of its depth and the swiftness of the current,[2] and neglected to guard it. Instead he joined forces with those who were burning the countryside, and having wasted a great stretch of it, judged that it would be unusable by the enemy because of the lack of forage. 331/0 B.C.

Alexander, nevertheless, when he came to the crossing of the Tigris River, learned of the ford from some of the local natives, and transferred his army to the east bank. This was accomplished not only with difficulty but even at substantial risk. The depth of the water at the ford was above a man's breast and the force of the current swept away many who were crossing and deprived them of their footing, and as the water struck their shields, it bore many off their course and brought them into extreme danger. But Alexander contrived a defence against the violence of the river. He ordered all to lock arms with each

This may reflect a tradition that Alexander had not taken as good care of her as was generally believed.

[1] According to Arrian (3. 7. 1), Mazaeus was also supposed to defend the line of the Euphrates, and this plan is reported in a different form by Curtius, 4. 9. 7 and 12.

[2] The Tigris is said to owe its name to the "arrow-swift" character of its current (Curtius, 4. 9. 16).

ἀλλήλοις συμπλέκειν καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῶν σωμάτων
6 πυκνότητα ποιεῖν ζεύγματι παραπλησίαν. παραβόλου δὲ γενομένης τῆς διαβάσεως καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μόγις διασωθέντων τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ταύτην προσανέλαβε τὴν δύναμιν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σύνεγγυς γενόμενος τῶν Περσῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

56. Ἀναλογιζόμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπικειμένων κινδύνων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν ἐν χερσὶν οὖσαν διηγρύπνησε τὴν νύκτα συνεχόμενος τῇ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος φροντίδι· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν τραπεὶς εἰς ὕπνον οὕτως ἐκοιμήθη βαθέως ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης μὴ δύνασθαι διεγερθῆναι.
2 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ φίλοι τὸ συμβὰν ἡδέως ἑώρων, νομίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον κίνδυνον εὐτονώτερον ἔσεσθαι τετευχότα πολλῆς ἀνέσεως· ὡς δ' ὁ μὲν χρόνος προέβαινεν, ὁ δ' ὕπνος συνεῖχε τὸν βασιλέα, Παρμενίων πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν φίλων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρόσταγμα διέδωκε τοῖς
3 πλήθεσιν ἑτοιμάζεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην. οὐκ ἀνιεμένου δ' αὐτοῦ προσελθόντες οἱ φίλοι μόγις διήγειραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. θαυμαζόντων δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάντων καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκοῦσαι βουλομένων ἔφησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρεῖον εἰς ἕνα τόπον ἠθροικότα τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπολελυκέναι πάσης

[1] Curtius, 4. 9. 15-21. Arrian (3. 7. 5) merely remarks that Alexander crossed with difficulty.

[2] The tradition of the date of the battle is confused. Eleven days before it (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 31. 4) there occurred in the Attic month Boedromion an eclipse of the moon which

other and to construct a sort of bridge out of the compact union of their persons.[1] Since the crossing had been hazardous and the Macedonians had had a narrow escape, Alexander rested the army that day, and on the following he deployed it and led it forward toward the enemy, then pitched camp not far from the Persians.[2] 331/0 B.C.

56. Casting over in his mind the number of the Persian forces and the decisive nature of the impending battle, since success or failure lay now entirely in the strength of their arms, Alexander lay awake throughout the night occupied with concern for the next day. About the morning watch he fell asleep, and slept so soundly that he could not be wakened when the sun rose.[3] At first his Friends were delighted, thinking that the king would be all the keener for the battle for his thorough relaxation. As time passed, however, and sleep continued to possess him, Parmenion, the senior among the Friends, issued on his own responsibility the order to the troops to make ready for the battle, and since his sleep continued, the Friends came to Alexander and at last succeeded in wakening him. As all expressed astonishment at the matter and pressed him to tell the reason for his unconcern, Alexander said that Dareius had freed him from all anxiety by assembling

has been identified as that of 20/21 September 331 B.C. (Curtius, 4. 10. 2 ; Arrian, 3. 7. 6). If the Attic month followed the moon in practice as it did in theory, this should have been on the 15th of Boedromion, and the battle fought on the 26th or 27th. Arrian, however, states that the battle took place in Pyanepsion (3. 15. 7), presumably the month of the eclipse also. Justin (11. 13. 1) simply says that the battle occurred "postero die" after the dismissal of Dareius's embassy.

[3] Curtius, 4. 13. 17-24 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 32. 1-2.

4 ἀγωνίας αὐτόν· μιᾷ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ κριθέντα περὶ τῶν ὅλων παύσεσθαι τῶν πόνων καὶ πολυχρονίων κινδύνων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κινδύνους εὐθαρσεῖς καταστήσας προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν συντεταγμένην ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος τὰς τῶν ἱππέων εἴλας προτάξας.

57. Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔταξε τὴν βασιλικὴν εἴλην, ἧς εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐχομένους δὲ ταύτης τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους,[1] ὧν ἡγεῖτο Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἑξῆς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἱππαρχίας ἑπτὰ τεταγμένας ὑπὸ
2 τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνα. ὄπισθεν δὲ τούτων ὑπετάγη τὸ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων πεζῶν τάγμα, διαφέρον τῇ τε τῶν ὅπλων λαμπρότητι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῇ· καὶ τούτων ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος. ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων ἔστησε τὴν Ἐλιμιῶτιν καλουμένην στρατηγίαν,[2] ἧς Κοῖνος ἡγεῖτο, ἑξῆς δὲ τὴν τῶν Ὀρεστῶν καὶ Λυγκηστῶν τάξιν ἔστησε, Περδίκκου τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχοντος. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐχομένην στρατηγίαν Μελέαγρος εἶχε, τὴν δὲ συνεχῆ ταύτης Πολυπέρχων,[3] τεταγμένων ὑπ' αὐτὸν τῶν ὀνομα-
3 ζομένων Στυμφαίων. Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Βαλάκρου τὴν συνεχῆ ταύτης στρατηγίαν ἐπλήρου καὶ τῆς μετὰ

[1] φίλους codd. ; ἑταίρους F.
[2] στρατηγίαν Fischer ; στρατιάν codd.
[3] Πολυπέρχων RX ; Πολυσπέρχων F.

---

[1] This term is somewhat unexpectedly used instead of the usual term "Companions" (Arrian, 3. 11. 8). Cp. note 1, p. 14. The full accounts of the Battle of Gaugemela are

all his forces into one place. Now in one day the decision would be reached on all issues, and they would be saved toils and dangers extending over a long period of time. Nevertheless, Alexander summoned his officers and encouraged them for the battle which they faced with suitable words, and then led out his army deployed for battle against the Persians, ordering the cavalry squadrons to ride ahead of the infantry phalanx. 331/0 B.C.

57. On the right wing Alexander stationed the royal squadron under the command of Cleitus the Black (as he was called), and next to this the other Friends[1] under the command of Parmenion's son Philotas, then in succession the other seven squadrons under the same commander. Behind these was stationed the infantry battalion of the Silver Shields,[2] distinguished for the brilliance of their armour and the valour of the men ; they were led by Nicanor, the son of Parmenion. Next to them was the battalion from Elimiotis,[3] as it was called, under the command of Coenus ; next he stationed the battalion of the Orestae and the Lyncestae, of which Perdiccas held the command. Meleager commanded the next battalion and Polyperchon the one after that, the people called Stymphaeans being under him. Philip the son of Balacrus held the next command and, after him,

those of Curtius (4. 12-16) and Arrian (3. 11-15) ; cp. also Justin, 11. 13–14. 3 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 32-33.

[2] These were the infantry of the guard, the *hypaspistae*, called by the name which came into use only in the period of the Successors (Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2, p. 116 ; cp. p. 14, note 1). Curtius (8. 5. 4) writes of the introduction of silver and gold trappings in 327.

[3] The battalions of the Macedonian phalanx were organized on a territorial basis and known by the names of their component elements.

ταύτην Κρατερὸς ἡγεῖτο. τῶν δὲ προειρημένων ἱππέων τὴν συνεχῆ τάξιν ἀπεπλήρουν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἀχαΐας συστρατεύσαντες ἱππεῖς καὶ Φθιῶται καὶ Μαλιεῖς, ἔτι δὲ Λοκροὶ καὶ
4 Φωκεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐρίγυιος[1] ὁ Μιτυληναῖος. ἑξῆς δ' εἱστήκεισαν Θετταλοί, Φίλιππον μὲν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῶν εἱλῶν ἱππασίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες τῶν ἄλλων. ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐκ Κρήτης τοξότας ἔταξε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας μισθοφόρους.

5 Ἐφ' ἑκατέρου δὲ τοῦ κέρατος ἐπικάμπιον ἐποίησε τὴν[2] τάξιν, ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται κυκλοῦν οἱ πολέμιοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν
6 Μακεδόνων. πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἁρμάτων ἐπιφορὰς μηχανώμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι πεζοῖς, ὅταν πλησιάζῃ τὰ τέθριππα, συνασπίσαι καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις τὰς ἀσπίδας τύπτειν, ὅπως διὰ τὸν ψόφον πτυρόμενα τὴν εἰς τοὐπίσω ποιήσηται φοράν, τοῖς δὲ βιαζομένοις διδόναι διαστήματα, δι' ὧν ποιήσονται τὴν διέξοδον ἀκίνδυνον τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἡγούμενος καὶ λοξὴν τὴν τάξιν ποιούμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ὅλην κρίσιν τοῦ κινδύνου ποιεῖσθαι διεγνώκει.

58. Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν περιοχὰς τὴν ἔκταξιν πεποιημένος κατά τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένος προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίαζον ἀλλήλαις αἱ δυνάμεις, οἱ μὲν σαλπικταὶ

[1] Ἐρίγυος RX.
[2] τὴν added by Dindorf.

[1] Diodorus's account of Alexander's dispositions agrees generally with those of Curtius (4. 13. 26-35) and Arrian (3. 11. 8–12. 5), with the exceptions that Arrian gives only six squadrons of the Companions in addition to that of Cleitus, and names Simmias as battalion commander instead of Philip (who is named also by Curtius, 4. 13. 28; a Philip appears in 327 as a battalion commander with Alexander in operations north of the Kabul River, Arrian, 4. 24. 10).

Craterus. As for the cavalry, the line of the squadrons which I have mentioned was continued with the combined Peloponnesian and Achaean horse, then cavalry from Phthiotis and Malis, then Locrians and Phocians, all under the command of Erigyius of Mitylenê. Next were posted the Thessalians who had Philip as commander; they were far superior to the rest in their fighting qualities and in their horsemanship. And next to these he stationed the Cretan archers and the mercenaries from Achaia. 331/0 B.C.

On both flanks he kept his wings back so that the enemy with their superior numbers could not envelop the shorter line of the Macedonians. Against the threat of the scythed chariots, he ordered the infantry of the phalanx to join shields as soon as these went into action against them and to beat the shields with their spears, creating such a din as to frighten the horses into bolting to the rear, or, if they persevered, to open gaps in the ranks such that they might ride through harmlessly. He himself took personal command of the right wing and advancing obliquely planned to settle the issue of the battle by his own actions.[1]

58. Dareius based his formation for battle on the characteristics of his national contingents,[2] and posting himself opposite Alexander gave the command to advance on the Macedonians. As the lines approached

[2] The Persian dispositions are given by Curtius (4. 12. 5-13) and Arrian (3. 11. 3-7) from captured records.

παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικόν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπεφέροντο.
2 καὶ πρῶτον τὰ δρεπανηφόρα τῶν ἁρμάτων ἀπὸ κράτους ἐλαυνόμενα πολλὴν ἔκπληξιν καὶ φόβον τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐπέστησεν· καὶ γὰρ Μαζαῖος ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενος πυκναῖς ταῖς εἴλαις σὺν τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις ἐπήλαυνε, καταπληκτικωτέραν ποιῶν
3 τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν δρεπανηφόρων. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος συνασπιζούσης καὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως παραγγελίας ταῖς σαρίσαις πάντων τυπτόντων τὰς
4 ἀσπίδας συνέβαινε ψόφον πολὺν γίνεσθαι. διόπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἁρμάτων πτυρομένων τῶν ἵππων ἐστρέφετο καὶ τὴν ῥύμην ἀκατάσχετον ποιοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους βιαίως ἀνέστρεφε. τῶν δ' ἄλλων προσπεσόντων τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ποιούντων ἀξιόλογα διαστήματα διὰ τούτων φερόμενα[1] τὰ μὲν συνηκοντίσθη, τὰ δὲ διεξέπεσεν, ἔνια δὲ τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ῥύμης φερόμενα καὶ ταῖς τῶν σιδήρων ἀκμαῖς ἐνεργῶς χρησάμενα πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας
5 διαθέσεις θανάτων ἀπειργάζετο. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ ὀξύτης καὶ βία τῶν κεχαλκευμένων πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ὅπλων ὥστε πολλῶν μὲν βραχίονας σὺν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποκόπτεσθαι, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ τραχήλους παρασύρεσθαι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς πίπτειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν βλεπόντων ἔτι τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ προσώπου διαθέσεως διαφυλαττομένης, ἐνίων δὲ τὰς πλευρὰς ἐπικαιρίοις τομαῖς ἀναρήττεσθαι καὶ θανάτους ὀξεῖς ἐπιφέρεσθαι.[2]

[1] τὰ φερόμενα codd.; corrected by Fischer.
[2] ἀναρηττόντων and ἐπιφερόντων codd.; corrected by

each other, the trumpeters on both sides sounded the attack and the troops charged each other with a loud shout. First the scythed chariots swung into action at full gallop and created great alarm and terror among the Macedonians,[1] especially since Mazaeus[2] in command of the cavalry made their attack more frightening by supporting it with his dense squadrons of horse. As the phalanx joined shields, however, all beat upon their shields with their spears as the king had commanded and a great din arose. As the horses shied off, most of the chariots were turned about and bore hard with irresistible impact against their own ranks. Others continued on against the Macedonian lines, but as the soldiers opened wide gaps in their ranks the chariots were channelled through these. In some instances the horses were killed by javelin casts and in others they rode through and escaped, but some of them, using the full force of their momentum and applying their steel blades actively, wrought death among the Macedonians in many and various forms. Such was the keenness and the force of the scythes ingeniously contrived to do harm that they severed the arms of many, shields and all, and in no small number of cases they cut through necks and sent heads tumbling to the ground with the eyes still open and the expression of the countenance unchanged, and in other cases they sliced through ribs with mortal gashes and inflicted a quick death.[3] 331/0 B.C.

[1] Curtius, 4. 15. 3; Arrian, 3. 13. 5.
[2] Mazaeus appears below (chap. 59. 5) in command of the Persian right wing, not the left.
[3] Curtius, 4. 15. 14-17. Arrian is not interested in such descriptions.

Wesseling. The manuscript readings are explained and defended by R. Laqueur, *Hermes*, 86 (1958), 259 f.

59. Ὡς δ' ἤγγισαν ἀλλήλαις αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ διὰ τῶν τόξων καὶ σφενδονῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀκοντιζομένων σαυνίων τὰ ῥιπτούμενα βέλη παρανήλωτο,
2 πρὸς τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς μάχην κατήντησαν. καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἱππέων συστησαμένων ἀγῶνα καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι διαγωνιζομένων ὁ μὲν Δαρεῖος τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος ἡγούμενος συναγωνιστὰς εἶχε τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἱππεῖς, ἐπιλέκτους ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐνοίαις, χιλίους ἐν μιᾷ περιειλημμένους
3 εἴλῃ. οὗτοι δὲ θεατὴν ἔχοντες τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας τὸν βασιλέα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φερομένων βελῶν προθύμως ἐξεδέχοντο. συνῆσαν δὲ τούτοις οἵ τε μηλοφόροι, διάφοροι[1] ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις καὶ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Μάρδοι καὶ Κοσσαῖοι,[2] ταῖς τε τῶν σωμάτων ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ψυχῶν θαυμαζό-
4 μενοι. συνηγωνίζοντο δὲ τούτοις οἵ τε περὶ τὰ βασίλεια διατρίβοντες καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ κράτιστοι κατ' ἀνδρείαν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς ἐπιρράξαντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ τῷ πλήθει κατεπόνουν τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

5 Μαζαῖος δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων διαγωνιζόμενος εὐθὺς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν ἀνθεστώτων ἀνεῖλεν οὐκ ὀλίγους, δισχιλίους δὲ Καδουσίους καὶ χιλίους τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας περιιππεῦσαι τὸ κέρας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσελάσαντας τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς κυριεῦ-

[1] διάφοροι supplied by Hertlein. [2] Κισσαῖοι RX.

[1] Curtius, 4. 15. 24-25. This was the royal chiliarchy, commanded by the chiliarch or grand vizier. The members

59. As the main bodies now neared each other and, 331/0 B.C.
employing bows and slings and throwing javelins, expended their missiles, they turned to hand to hand fighting. The cavalry first joined battle, and as the Macedonians were on the right wing, Dareius, who commanded his own left, led his kinsman cavalry against them. These were men chosen for courage and for loyalty, the whole thousand included in one squadron.[1] Knowing that the king was watching their behaviour, they cheerfully faced all of the missiles which were cast in his direction. With them were engaged the Apple Bearers,[2] brave and numerous, and in addition to these Mardi and Cossaei, who were admired for their strength and daring, as well as all the household troops belonging to the palace and the best fighters among the Indians. They all raised a loud battle cry and, attacking, engaged the enemy valiantly and pressed hard upon the Macedonians because of their superior numbers.

Mazaeus was in command of the Persian right wing with the best of the cavalry under him and killed not a few of his opponents at the first onslaught, but sent off two thousand Cadusii and a thousand picked Scythian horsemen with orders to ride around the enemy's flank and to continue on to their camp and

had the court rank of Royal Relatives. Like Diodorus, Curtius (4. 12) writes only of left and right wings in the Persian army, with the king in the former position (4. 14. 8). Arrian (3. 11. 5) places the king correctly in the centre.

[2] So called from the fact that the butts of their spears were carved in the likeness of apples. They constituted the royal foot guards. Arrian (3. 11. 3-4) gives from an official list captured after the battle Kinsmen, Melophoroi, Indians, Carians, and Mardi. The Cossaei are named by Curtius also (4. 12. 10), certainly in error, since they were not subjects of the king (chap. 111. 4).

6 σαι. ὧν ὀξέως ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ παρεισπεσόντων εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τῶν Μακεδόνων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὲς ἁρπάσαντες ὅπλα συνήργουν τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ διήρπαζον τὰς ἀποσκευάς· βοὴ δ' ἦν καὶ ταραχὴ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον
7 καθ' ὅλην τὴν παρεμβολήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπεχώρουν, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τοῦ Δαρείου Σισύγγαμβρις παρακαλουσῶν αὐτὴν τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἔμεινε φιλοφρόνως, οὔτε τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τύχης πιστεύσασα οὔτε τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον
8 εὐχαριστίαν λυμαινομένη. τέλος δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι πολλὴν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς διαρπάσαντες ἀφίππευσαν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Μαζαῖον καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν ἀπήγγειλαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ Δαρεῖον τεταγμένων ἱππέων τινὲς καταπονήσαντες τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας Μακεδόνας φεύγειν ἠνάγκασαν.

60. Δευτέρου δὲ προτερήματος τοῖς Πέρσαις γενομένου ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος σπεύδων δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἧτταν διορθώσασθαι τῶν ἰδίων μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς εἴλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
2 ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε τὸν Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς δεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφ' ἅρματος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἠκόντιζεν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, πολλῶν δ' αὐτῷ συναγωνιζομένων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἱεμένων ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκοντίσας ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τούτου μὲν ἥμαρτεν, τοῦ δὲ παρεστῶτος

[1] Curtius, 4. 15. 5-11. The "baggage" included persons as well as objects, and it may be that this attack was a cal-

capture the baggage. This they did promptly, and 331/0 B.C.
as they burst into the camp of the Macedonians, some of the captives seized weapons and aided the Scythians in seizing the baggage. There was shouting and confusion throughout the whole camp area at this unexpected event. Most of the female captives rushed off to welcome the Persians, but the mother of Dareius, Sisyngambris, did not heed when the women called upon her, but remained placidly where she was, since she neither trusted the uncertain turns of Fortune nor would sully her gratitude toward Alexander. Finally, after the Scythians had rounded up much of the baggage, they rode off to Mazaeus to report their success.[1] During this time, also, part of the cavalry of Dareius in superior numbers continued their pressure on the opposing Macedonians and forced them to give ground.

60. This was a second success for the Persians, and Alexander saw that it was time for him to offset the discomfiture of his forces by his own intervention[2] with the royal squadron and the rest of the elite horse guards, and rode hard against Dareius.[3] The Persian king received their attack and fighting from a chariot hurled javelins against his opponents, and many supported him. As the kings approached each other, Alexander flung a javelin at Dareius and missed him,

culated attempt to recover the Persian women captured at Issus. Arrian (3. 14. 5-6) views it as a purely military manœuvre. Arrian reports that it was a break through the Macedonian line carried out by Indians and Persian cavalry, while Curtius and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 32. 3), who do not identify the troops, agree with Diodorus that the operation was a sweep around the Macedonian left wing.

[2] This same motivation is ascribed to Alexander, Curtius, 4. 15. 19.

[3] Curtius, 4. 15. 24-33; Arrian, 3. 14. 1-3.

3 ἡνιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως κατατυχὼν κατέβαλεν. τῶν
δὲ περὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἀναβοησάντων οἱ πορρώτερον
ἀφεστηκότες ὑπέλαβον αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα πεπτω-
κέναι· καὶ τούτων τῆς φυγῆς ἀρξαμένων οἱ συνεχεῖς
συνείποντο καὶ τὸ συνεστὸς τῷ Δαρείῳ σύνταγμα
κατ᾽ ὀλίγον αἰεὶ παρερρήγνυτο. διὸ καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας
πλευρᾶς παραγυμνωθείσης τῶν συναγωνιζομένων
4 καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλαγεὶς πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησεν. τού-
των δὲ οὕτως φευγόντων καὶ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ τῶν
ἱππέων πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ ποδὸς ἑπομένων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τοῦ κονιορτοῦ συνιδεῖν μὲν οὐκ
ἦν τὸν Δαρεῖον ὅποι ποιεῖται τὴν φυγήν, στεναγμὸς
δὲ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀνδρῶν καὶ κτύπος τῶν ἱππέων,[1]
ἔτι δὲ τῶν μαστίγων συνεχὴς ψόφος ἐγίνετο.

5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Μαζαῖος ὁ τοῦ
δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἡγούμενος, πλείστους ἔχων καὶ
κρατίστους ἱππεῖς, βαρὺς ἐπέκειτο τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὸν
τεταγμένοις· Παρμενίων δὲ μετὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν
ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ κινδυνευόν-
6 των ὑπέστη τοὺς πολεμίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον
λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν Θεττα-
λῶν προετέρει· τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Μαζαῖον τῷ τε
πλήθει καὶ βάρει τοῦ συστήματος ἐγκειμένων κατ-
7 επονεῖτο τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἱππικόν. πολλοῦ δὲ
φόνου γινομένου καὶ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων βίας δυσ-
υποστάτου γινομένης ὁ Παρμενίων ἐξέπεμψέ τινας
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον,
λέγων κατὰ τάχος βοηθῆσαι. ὀξέως δὲ τούτων
τὸ παραγγελθὲν πραττόντων καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
πυθομένων πολὺ τῆς τάξεως ἀπεσπάσθαι κατὰ τὸν

but struck the driver standing beside him and knocked 331/0 B.C. him to the ground. A shout went up at this from the Persians around Dareius, and those at a greater distance thought that the king had fallen. They were the first to take to flight, and they were followed by those next to them, and steadily, little by little, the solid ranks of Dareius's guard disintegrated. As both flanks became exposed, the king himself was alarmed and retreated. The flight thus became general. Dust raised by the Persian cavalry rose to a height, and as Alexander's squadrons followed on their heels, because of their numbers and the thickness of the dust, it was impossible to tell in what direction Dareius was fleeing. The air was filled with the groans of the fallen, the din of the cavalry, and the constant sound of lashing of whips.[1]

At this time Mazaeus, the commander of the Persian right wing, with the most and the best of the cavalry, was pressing hard on those opposing him, but Parmenion with the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of his forces put up a stout resistance. For a time, fighting brilliantly, he even seemed to have the upper hand thanks to the fighting qualities of the Thessalians, but the weight and numbers of Mazaeus's command brought the Macedonian cavalry into difficulties. A great slaughter took place, and despairing of withstanding the Persian power, Parmenion sent off some of his horsemen to Alexander, begging him to come to their support quickly. They carried out their orders with dispatch, but finding that Alexander was already in full pursuit at a great

[1] Curtius, 4. 15. 33.

[1] Rhodoman corrected to ἵππων.

8 διωγμὸν οὗτοι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, ὁ δὲ Παρμενίων ταῖς τῶν Θετταλῶν εἴλαις χρώμενος ἐμπειρότατα καὶ πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν μόλις ἐτρέψατο τοὺς βαρβάρους, μάλιστα καταπλαγέντας τῇ κατὰ τὸν Δαρεῖον φυγῇ.

61. Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος τῇ στρατηγίᾳ διαφέρων καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ κονιορτοῦ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν οὐχ ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ἐποιεῖτο, εἰς τοὐναντίον δὲ μέρος ὁρμήσας καὶ κρυπτομένην ἔχων διὰ τὸν ἐξαιρόμενον κονιορτὸν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποχώρησιν ἀκινδύνως αὐτός τε διέφυγεν τούς τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας εἰς τὰς κατόπιν κειμένας τῶν
2 Μακεδόνων κώμας διέσωσε. τέλος δὲ πάντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμησάντων καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀεὶ κτεινόντων ταχὺ πᾶς ὁ
3 πλησίον τοῦ πεδίου τόπος νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη. διὸ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πάντες ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὶ πλείους τῶν ἐννέα μυριάδων· τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο παμπληθεῖς,[1]

[1] πανυπληθεῖς X.

[1] This incident is variously reported. According to Diodorus, Alexander did not receive Parmenion's plea for help, and Parmenion extricated himself without it. According to Curtius (4. 15. 6-8 ; 16. 1-4) and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 32. 3-4 ; 33. 7), Alexander received the message but did not turn back, and Parmenion extricated himself without help. According to Arrian (3. 15. 1), Alexander received the message, returned, and helped Parmenion.

[2] Diodorus is confused as to Dareius's movements after the battle, perhaps from a confusion of the Greater and the Lesser Zab. He placed the battle at Arbela (chap. 53. 4), which lies between the two rivers. If Dareius made his escape up the valley of the Greater Zab, to the north, he would have moved into the Macedonian rear. Actually, of course, the battle took place at Gaugamela, in the plain north of the Greater Zab, and Dareius fled to the south to Arbela, escaping up the valley of the Lesser Zab (Curtius, 4. 16. 8 ; Arrian, 3. 15. 4-5). Diodorus's repeated reference to the dust cloud may be an attempt to cover what he felt to be an inherent improbability. It is true that, accidentally or intentionally, dust played a part in many ancient battles (cp. E. Echols, *Classical Journal*, 47 (1952), 285-288).

distance from the battlefield they returned without accomplishing their mission. Nevertheless Parmenion handled the Thessalian squadrons with the utmost skill and finally, killing many of the enemy, routed the Persians who were by now much disheartened by the withdrawal of Dareius.[1] 331/0 B.C.

61. Dareius was a clever strategist. He took advantage of the great cloud of dust and did not withdraw to the rear like the other barbarians, but swinging in the opposite direction and covering his movement by the dust, got away safely himself and brought all his troops into villages which lay behind the Macedonian position.[2] Finally all the Persians had fled, and as the Macedonians kept slaughtering the stragglers, before long the whole region in which the battle had taken place was covered with dead. On the Persian side in the battle fell, cavalry and infantry together, more than ninety thousand.[3] About five hundred of the Macedonians were killed and there were very many wounded.[4] Of the most prominent

[3] This figure is given variously as 40,000 (Curtius, 4. 16. 26) and 300,000 (Arrian, 3. 15. 6). The writer of *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1798 gives a total of 53,000.

[4] The Macedonian casualties are given variously as 100 (Arrian, 3. 15. 6), 300 (Curtius, 4. 16. 26), and 1000 foot and 200 horse (*P. Oxyrhynchus* 1798).

ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγεμόνων Ἡφαιστίων μὲν εἰς τὸν βραχίονα ξυστῷ βληθεὶς ἐτρώθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἡγούμενος, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Περδίκκας καὶ Κοῖνος,[1] ἔτι δὲ Μενίδας καί τινες ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἄρβηλα γενομένη παράταξις τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ πέρας.

62. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφῶντος
ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεδέξαντο τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν Γάιος Δο-
μέττιος καὶ Αὖλος Κορνήλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἰς
τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς περὶ Ἄρβηλα μάχης διαδοθείσης
πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ὑφορώμεναι τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἔγνωσαν, ἕως ἔτι τὰ Περσῶν πράγ-
2 ματα διαμένει, τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι· βοηθή-
σειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Δαρεῖον καὶ χρημάτων τε πλῆθος
χορηγήσειν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ξενικὰς μεγάλας
δυνάμεις συνίστασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ δυ-
3 νήσεσθαι διαιρεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις. εἰ δὲ περιόψονται
τοὺς Πέρσας καταπολεμηθέντας, μονωθήσεσθαι
τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ μηκέτι δυνήσεσθαι φροντίσαι τῆς
ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίας.

4 Προεκαλέσατο δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν τοὺς Ἕλ-
ληνας καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην νεωτερισμὸς κατὰ
5 τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς γενόμενος· Μέμνων γὰρ
ὁ καθεσταμένος στρατηγὸς τῆς Θρᾴκης, ἔχων δύ-

[1] Κόϊντος RX ; Κόννος F.

[1] Curtius, 4. 16. 32 ; Arrian, 3. 15. 2. The meaning of this designation of Hephaestion is obscure. He did not command the footguards, the ὑπασπισταί, for Nicanor, Parmenion's son, was still their commander in 330 (Arrian, 3. 21. 8) and only died later in that year (Arrian, 3. 25. 4). The small group of bodyguards proper had no commander, and it is

group of commanders, Hephaestion was wounded with a spear thrust in the arm ; he had commanded the bodyguards.[1] Perdiccas and Coenus, of the general's group, were also wounded, so also Menidas and others of the higher commanders.[2] 331/0 B.C.

That was the outcome of the battle near Arbela.

62. When Aristophon was archon at Athens, the consular office at Rome was assumed by Gaius Domitius and Aulus Cornelius.[3] In this year word was brought to Greece about the battle near Arbela, and many of the cities became alarmed at the growth of Macedonian power and decided that they should strike for their freedom while the Persian cause was still alive. They expected that Dareius would help them and send them much money so that they could gather great armies of mercenaries, while Alexander would not be able to divide his forces. If, on the other hand, they watched idly while the Persians were utterly defeated, the Greeks would be isolated and never again be able to think of recovering their freedom. 330/29 B.C.

There was also an upheaval in Thrace at just this time which seemed to offer the Greeks an opportunity for freeing themselves. Memnon, who had been designated governor-general there, had a military force

quite uncertain when Hephaestion became a member. He is first so called in 325 (Arrian, 6. 28. 4) and is conspicuously not so called in 328 (Arrian, 4. 12. 6 ; but Arrian's usage is not consistent, cp. 4. 24. 10). He was presumably not a bodyguard in 330 when he and Cleitus divided Philotas's command of the Companion Cavalry. This seems to exclude the translation : " fighting first among the bodyguards."

[2] Curtius, 4. 16. 32. Menidas had commanded a cavalry unit on the extreme right (Arrian, 3. 12. 3).

[3] Aristophon was archon at Athens from July 330 to June 329 B.C. The consuls of 332 B.C. were Cn. Domitius Calvinus and A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina (Broughton, 1. 141).

ναμιν καὶ φρονήματος ὢν πλήρης, ἀνέσεισε μὲν τοὺς
βαρβάρους, ἀποστάτης δὲ γενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ ταχὺ μεγάλης δυνάμεως κυριεύσας φανερῶς
6 ἀπεκαλύψατο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. διόπερ Ἀντί-
πατρος πᾶσαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆλθε διὰ
Μακεδονίας εἰς Θρᾴκην καὶ διεπολέμει πρὸς τὸν
Μέμνονα.

Τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ᾽ ὄντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καιρὸν ἔχειν ὑπολαβόντες τοῦ παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμ-
7 φρονῆσαι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν,
παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὑπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου
προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· Πελοποννησίων
δ᾽ οἱ πλείους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς συμφρονήσαντες
ἀπεγράψαντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν
τῶν πόλεων καταγράφοντες τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀρί-
στους κατέλεξαν στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐ-
λάττους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους.
8 τὴν δ᾽ ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεὶ
πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ὥρμησαν, Ἄγι-
δος τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν πάντων ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν.

63. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
συνδρομὴν τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ πόλεμον ὥς ποτ᾽
ἦν δυνατὸν κατέλυσεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον
ἧκε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. προσλαβόμενος
δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμαχούντων Ἑλλήνων στρα-
τιώτας ἤθροισε τοὺς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν
2 τετρακισμυρίων. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως με-

[1] He had been appointed by Alexander before the start of the Asian campaign (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 499). Antipater was Alexander's viceroy in Macedonia. The cam-

and was a man of spirit. He stirred up the tribesmen, revolted against Alexander, quickly possessed a large army, and was openly bent on war. Antipater was forced to mobilize his entire army and to advance through Macedonia into Thrace to settle with him.[1] 330/29 B.C.

While Antipater was occupied with this,[2] the Lacedaemonians thought that the time had come to undertake a war and issued an appeal to the Greeks to unite in defence of their freedom. The Athenians had been favoured beyond all the other Greeks by Alexander and did not move. Most of the Peloponnesians, however, and some of the northern Greeks reached an agreement and signed an undertaking to go to war. According to the capacity of the individual cities they enlisted the best of their youth and enrolled as soldiers not less than twenty thousand infantry and about two thousand cavalry. The Lacedaemonians had the command and led out their entire levy for the decisive battle, their king Agis having the position of commander in chief.

63. When Antipater learned of this Greek mobilization, he ended the Thracian campaign on what terms he could and marched down into the Peloponnesus with his entire army. He added soldiers from those of the Greeks who were still loyal and built up his force until it numbered not less than forty thousand.[3] When it came to a general engagement, Agis was struck

paign ended with an agreement leaving Memnon in his governorship. Some years later he conducted reinforcements to Alexander and took part in his later operations in the East (Curtius, 9. 3. 21). His revolt is not otherwise mentioned.

[2] The narrative is continued from chap. 48. 1 and concluded, chap. 73. 5-6. Cp. Curtius, 6. 1 ; Justin, 12. 1. 8-11.

[3] Alexander sent him 3000 talents for the campaign (Arrian, 3. 16. 10).

γάλης ὁ μὲν Ἆγις μαχόμενος ἔπεσεν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺν μὲν ἐκθύμως χρόνον ἀγωνιζόμενοι διεκαρτέρουν, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων βιασθέντων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐποιήσαντο.
3 ἀνῃρέθησαν δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, τῶν δὲ μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου τρισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι.

4 Ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἄγιδος τελευτὴν γενέσθαι· ἀγωνισάμενος γὰρ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἐναντίοις περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀπεκομίζετο[1]· περικατάληπτος δὲ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπογνοὺς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην καὶ διασώζειν αὑτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῆς πατρίδος χρείαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθοπλισθεὶς καὶ εἰς γόνυ διαναστὰς ἠμύνατο τοὺς πολεμίους καί τινας καταβαλὼν καὶ συνακοντισθεὶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ἄρξας ἔτη ἐννέα.[2]

5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν μέρει τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν συντελεσθέντα διέξιμεν.

64. Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ ἡττηθεὶς ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἄρβηλα παρατάξει τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας ἐποιήσατο, σπεύδων τῷ διαστήματι τῶν τόπων λαβεῖν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ χρόνον ἱκανὸν εἰς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδείας διανύσας ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀνασωζομένους ἀνεδέ-

[1] ἀπεκομίζετο only in a late hand in R; ἀπεκομίσθη codd.

down fighting, but the Lacedaemonians fought furiously and maintained their position for a long time; when their Greek allies were forced out of position they themselves fell back on Sparta. More than five thousand three hundred of the Lacedaemonians and their allies were killed in the battle, and three thousand five hundred of Antipater's troops. 330/29 B.C.

An interesting event occurred in connection with Agis's death. He had fought gloriously and fell with many frontal wounds. As he was being carried by his soldiers back to Sparta, he found himself surrounded by the enemy. Despairing of his own life, he ordered the rest to make their escape with all speed and to save themselves for the service of their country, but he himself armed and rising to his knees defended himself, killed some of the enemy and was himself slain by a javelin cast; he had reigned nine years.[1] (This is the end of the first half of the seventeenth book.)[2]

Now that we have run through the events in Europe, we may in turn pass on to what occurred in Asia.

64. After his defeat in the battle near Arbela, Dareius directed his course to the upper satrapies, seeking by putting distance between himself and Alexander to gain a respite and time enough to organize an army. He made his way first to Ecbatana in Media and paused there, picking up the stragglers

[1] The battle took place near Megalopolis, probably rather before than after Gaugamela (Curtius, 6. 1. 21).

[2] See the division of the book into two parts in the Table of Contents (p. 106) and note 2 below.

[2] At this point the following notations appear in the manuscripts: τέλος τοῦ α' βιβλίου τῆς ιζ RX; τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων εἰς δύο διῃρημένης τὸ τέλος τῆς α' F.

2 χετο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνόπλους καθώπλιζεν. μετεπέμπετο
δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βάκτροις καὶ ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις
σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς διεπέμπετο, παρακαλῶν
διαφυλάττειν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην θάψας τοὺς τετε-
λευτηκότας ἐπέβαλε τοῖς Ἀρβήλοις καὶ πολλὴν μὲν
εὗρεν ἀφθονίαν τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ κόσμον
καὶ γάζαν βαρβαρικήν, ἀργυρίου δὲ τάλαντα τρισ-
χίλια. συλλογισάμενος δὲ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι
φθορὰν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
νεκρῶν εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξε καὶ κατήντησε μετὰ πάσης
4 τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων προ-
θύμως ὑποδεξαμένων αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστα-
θμίας λαμπρῶς ἑστιώντων τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀνέλαβε
τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης ταλαιπωρίας.
πλείους δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐνδιέτριψε τῇ
πόλει διά τε τὴν δαψίλειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ
τὴν φιλοξενίαν τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν ἄκραν παρέδωκε τηρεῖν
Ἀγάθωνι τῷ Πυδναίῳ, συστήσας αὐτῷ Μακεδόνας
στρατιώτας ἑπτακοσίους· Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν
Ἀμφιπολίτην καὶ Μένητα τὸν Πελλαῖον ἀπέδειξε
στρατηγοὺς τῆς τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν σατραπειῶν
μέχρι Κιλικίας, δοὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
χίλια προσέταξε ξενολογεῖν στρατιώτας ὡς πλεί-
6 στους. Μιθρίνῃ δὲ τῷ παραδόντι τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν

[1] Arrian, 3. 16. 1. Dareius reached Ecbatana from the north. That city is at the Persian end of the best route from

from the battle and rearming those who had lost their 330/29 B.C.
weapons.[1] He sent around to the neighbouring tribes demanding soldiers, and he posted couriers to the satraps and generals in Bactria and the upper satrapies, calling upon them to preserve their loyalty to him.

After the battle, Alexander buried his dead and entered Arbela,[2] finding there abundant stores of food, no little barbaric dress and treasure, and three thousand talents of silver.[3] Judging that the air of the region would be polluted by the multitude of unburied corpses,[4] he continued his advance immediately and arrived with his whole army at Babylon. Here the people received him gladly, and furnishing them billets feasted the Macedonians lavishly.[5] Alexander refreshed his army from its previous labours and remained more than thirty days in the city because food was plentiful and the population friendly.

At this time he designated Agathon of Pydna [6] to guard the citadel, assigning to him seven hundred Macedonian soldiers. He appointed Apollodorus of Amphipolis and Menes of Pella as military governors of Babylon and the other satrapies as far as Cilicia, giving them one thousand talents of silver with instructions to enlist as many soldiers as possible.[7] He assigned

Mesopotamia up to the Iranian plateau, however, and so was on the straggler line taken by many of the survivors of the battle.

[2] Curtius, 5. 1. 10; Arrian, 3. 15. 5.

[3] Curtius, 5. 1. 10, reports 4000 talents.

[4] Curtius, 5. 1. 11.

[5] Curtius (5. 1. 36-39) gives a lurid description of this entertainment, which he regarded as debauching the army.

[6] Curtius, 5. 1. 43.

[7] Arrian, 3. 16. 4. Some of these administrative arrangements may have been made at Susa (Arrian, 3. 16. 6-11).

ἄκραν Ἀρμενίαν ἔδωκεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ληφθέντων χρημάτων τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἑκάστῳ ἓξ μνᾶς ἐδωρήσατο, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων πέντε, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος Μακεδόνων δύο, τοὺς δὲ ξένους διμήνου μισθοφοραῖς ἐτίμησε πάντας.

65. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναζεύξαντος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὄντος ἧκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου πεμφθέντες ἱππεῖς μὲν Μακεδόνες πεντακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ ἑξακισχίλιοι, ἐκ δὲ Θρᾴκης ἱππεῖς μὲν ἑξακόσιοι, Τραλλεῖς[1] δὲ τρισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ Πελοποννήσου πεζοὶ μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ βραχὺ λείποντες τῶν χιλίων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως υἱοὶ πεντήκοντα πρὸς τὴν σωματοφυ-
2 λακίαν ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἀπεσταλμένοι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτους παραλαβὼν προῆγε καὶ κατήντησεν ἑκταῖος εἰς τὴν Σιττακινὴν[2] ἐπαρχίαν.

Τῆς δὲ χώρας ταύτης πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐχούσης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πάντων ἐν ταύτῃ πλείους ἡμέρας ἔμεινεν, ἅμα μὲν σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ταλαιπωρίας ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ἅμα δὲ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς τάξεως διανοούμενος ἐπιμελη-

[1] Τραλλεεῖς RX; Τραλεεῖς F.
[2] Σιτακινὴν RXF, but cp. Book 18. 6. 3. The usual spelling is Σιττακηνὴν.

---

[1] Curtius, 5. 1. 44; Arrian, 3. 16. 5. Armenia had not been and was not to be conquered at this time, and Mithrines did not enter upon his governorship (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 524).

[2] Curtius, 5. 1. 45. A mina contained one hundred drach-

Armenia as a province to Mithrines, who had surrendered to him the citadel of Sardes.[1] From the money which was captured he distributed to each of the cavalrymen six minas, to each of the allied cavalrymen five, and to the Macedonians of the phalanx two, and he gave to all the mercenaries two months' pay.[2] 330/29 B.C.

65. After the king had marched out of Babylon and while he was still on the road, there came to him, sent by Antipater, five hundred Macedonian cavalry and six thousand infantry, six hundred Thracian cavalry and three thousand five hundred Trallians, and from the Peloponnese four thousand infantry and little less than a thousand cavalry.[3] From Macedonia also came fifty[4] sons of the king's Friends sent by their fathers to serve as bodyguards. The king welcomed all of these, continued his march, and on the sixth day crossed over into the province of Sittacenê.[5]

This was a rich country abounding in provisions of all sorts, and he lingered here for a number of days, at once anxious to rest his army from the fatigue of their long marches and concerned to review the organization of his army. He wanted to advance some

mae, and was one-sixtieth of a talent. The pay of Alexander's army is unknown, but that of a cavalryman must have been at least two drachmae a day. *IG*, ii². 329 shows that an Athenian hypaspist serving in the League troops with Alexander received a drachma a day from the city. Cp. W. Rüstow, H. Köchly, *Geschichte der griechischen Kriegskunst* (1852), 262 f.; Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 1. 193-196.

[3] Curtius (5. 1. 39-42) gives the same figures, with the exception of specifying 380 cavalry. These troops must have been sent by Antipater before trouble was anticipated in Greece. They had been recruited by Amyntas (chap. 49. 1; Curtius, 5. 1. 40). The Trallians were a Thracian people.

[4] The same figure is given by Curtius, 5. 1. 42.

[5] Curtius, 5. 2. 1. This district lay parallel to Babylonia on the left bank of the Tigris.

θῆναι καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀναβιβάσαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἰσχυροποιῆσαι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς

3 τῶν ἡγεμόνων. συντελέσας δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων[1] κρίσιν ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ μεγάλας ἐξουσίας ἀναβιβάσας πάντας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς ἀξίωμα μεῖζον καὶ στοργὴν ἰσ-

4 χυρὰν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προήγαγεν. ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰδιωτικῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διατάξεως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ἐπινοησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον διωρθώσατο. κατασκευάσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν εὐνοίᾳ τε πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον διαφέρουσαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα πειθαρχοῦσαν, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπερβάλλουσαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους ἀγῶνας ὥρμησεν.

5 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Σουσιανὴν καταντήσας ἀκινδύνως παρέλαβε τὰ περιβόητα ἐν Σούσοις βασίλεια, ἑκουσίως Ἀβουλεύτου[2] τοῦ σατράπου παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι γεγράφασι, προστάξαντος Δαρείου τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ πρᾶξαι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν, ὅπως ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς περισπασμοὺς ἀξιολόγους καὶ παραλήψεις ἐπιφανεστάτων[3] πόλεων καὶ θησαυρῶν μεγάλων ἐμπεσὼν ἐν ἀσχολίαις ὑπάρχῃ, ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος τῇ φυγῇ λαμβάνῃ χρόνον εἰς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευήν.

66. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις θησαυροὺς εὗρεν ἀσήμου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πλείω τῶν τετρακισμυρίων

[1] ἀριστείων F; ἀρίστων RX. [2] Ἀβουλήτου F.
[3] ἐπιφανεστάτων Reiske; ἐπιφανεστάτας codd., which may well be right.

officers and to strengthen the forces by the number and the ability of the commanders. This he effected. He scrutinized closely the reports of good conduct and promoted many from a high military command to an even higher responsibility, so that by giving all the commanders greater prestige he bound them to himself by strong ties of affection. He also examined the situation of the individual soldiers and introduced many improvements by considering what was useful. He brought the whole force up to an outstanding devotion to its commander and obedience to his commands, and to a high degree of effectiveness, looking toward the battles to come.[1] 330/29 B.C.

From there he entered Susianê without opposition and took over the fabulous palace of the kings. The satrap Abuleutes[2] surrendered the city to him voluntarily, and some have written that he did this in compliance with orders given by Dareius to his trusted officials. The king of Persia hoped by this policy, it is suggested, that Alexander would be kept busy with dazzling distractions and the acquisition of brilliant cities and huge treasures, while he, Dareius, won time by his flight to prepare for a renewed warfare.[3]

66. Alexander entered the city and found the treasure in the palace to include more than forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion, which the

[1] Curtius (5. 2. 2-7) describes these measures in more detail, but without satisfying our desire for specific military information. It may be that Alexander was re-organizing his dispositions in view of the impending mountain and steppe warfare, requiring increased fire-power and mobility (Rüstow-Köchly, *op. cit.* 252).

[2] Curtius (5. 2. 8) and Arrian (3. 16. 9) give his name as Abulites, and say that Alexander left him in Susa as governor.

[3] This rumour is not mentioned by the other Alexander historians, and its source is unknown.

2 ταλάντων. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων οἱ βασιλεῖς
ἄθικτα διετήρησαν, πρὸς τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης
ἀπολιπόντες αὑτοῖς καταφυγάς. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων
ὑπῆρχεν ἐννακισχίλια τάλαντα χρυσοῦ χαρακτῆρα
δαρεικὸν ἔχοντα.

3 Ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν
παράληψιν τῶν χρημάτων. καθίσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον καὶ τούτου μείζονος ὄντος
ἢ κατὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν τοῦ σώματος, τῶν παίδων
τις ἰδὼν τοὺς πόδας ἀπολείποντας πολὺ τοῦ κατὰ
τὸν θρόνον ὑποβάθρου βαστάσας τὴν Δαρείου τρά-
4 πεζαν ὑπέθηκε τοῖς ποσὶν αἰωρουμένοις. ἁρμοστῆς
δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέξατο τὴν τοῦ
πράξαντος εὐστοχίαν, τῶν δὲ παρεστώτων τις τῷ
θρόνῳ εὐνοῦχος κινηθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μεταβολῇ
5 τῆς τύχης ἐδάκρυσεν. ὃν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἤρετο, Τί κακὸν ἰδὼν γεγονὸς κλαίεις; ὁ δὲ
εὐνοῦχος ἔφησε, Νῦν μὲν σός εἰμι δοῦλος, πρότερον
δὲ Δαρείου, καὶ φύσει φιλοδέσποτος ὢν ἤλγηκα
ἰδὼν τὸ παρ' ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τιμώμενον νῦν ἄτιμον
γεγονὸς σκεῦος.

6 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως λαβὼν ἔν-

[1] Justin (11. 14. 9) and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 36. 1 : coined money) give the same figure as Diodorus ; Curtius (5. 2. 11) and Arrian (3. 16. 7) give 50,000 talents. The daric was the standard Persian gold coin with an image of the king on one side depicted as an archer. The name was popularly derived from that of Dareius I, who first minted them (cp. E. S. G. Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 18, 1958, 187-193.)

[2] The story is told also by Curtius, 5. 2. 13-15, but without the moral tone that is striking here. It is well known that the throne was a symbol of divinity in the Orient, and that a king's clothing, bed, and throne were affected with royal and divine mana. Cp. S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, 10

kings had accumulated unused over a long period of time as a protection against the vicissitudes of Fortune. In addition there were nine thousand talents of minted gold in the form of darics.[1] 330/29 B.C.

A curious thing happened to the king when he was shown the precious objects. He seated himself upon the royal throne, which was larger than the proportions of his body.[2] When one of the pages saw that his feet were a long way from reaching the footstool which belonged to the throne, he picked up Dareius's table and placed it under the dangling legs. This fitted, and the king was pleased by the aptness of the boy, but a eunuch standing by was troubled in his heart at this reminder of the changes of Fortune and wept. Alexander noticed him and asked, " What wrong have you seen that you are crying ? " The eunuch replied, " Now I am your slave as formerly I was the slave of Dareius. I am by nature devoted to my masters and I was grieved at seeing what was most held in honour by your predecessor now become an ignoble piece of furniture."

This answer reminded the king how great a change

(1932), 35 ; R. Labat, *Le Caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (1939) ; P. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 1 (1954), 316-369 ; G. Germain, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 69 (1956), 303-313 ; S. Weinstock, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), 146-154. This may explain why it was hybris for Alexander to put his feet on the royal table, but not why the throne was so high. A. Alföldi (*La Nouvelle Clio*, 1950, 537), however, points out that Persian thrones were normally elevated seven steps up, and this one may have lacked its steps. Probably Diodorus's source did not rationalize the anecdote. Curtius (8. 4. 15-17) reports that Alexander mentioned this sanctity of the throne, saying that he did not believe in it. Cp. also the second throne incident, chap. 116. 2-4. See Addenda.

νοιαν τῆς ὅλης κατὰ τὴν Περσικὴν βασιλείαν μεταβολῆς ὑπέλαβεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπερήφανόν τι πεποιηκέναι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας ἐπιεικείας ἀλλο-
7 τριώτατον. διόπερ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν θέντα τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέταξεν ἆραι πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα παρεστὼς Φιλώτας, Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβρις ἐστίν, εἶπεν, τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ προσταχθέν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τινος ἀγαθοῦ προνοίᾳ καὶ βουλήσει. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οἰωνισάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν προσέταξεν ἐᾶν κειμένην ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ τὴν τράπεζαν.

67. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν Δαρείου μητέρα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέλιπεν ἐν Σούσοις καὶ παρακατέστησε τοὺς διδάξοντας τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας
2 τεταρταῖος ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἀφίκετο. ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐξίων ὀρεινῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φέρεται διὰ χώρας τραχείας καὶ χαράδραις μεγάλαις διειλημμένης ἐπὶ σταδίους χιλίους, ἔπειτα διαρρεῖ χώραν πεδιάδα, πραϋνόμενος αἰεὶ μᾶλλον, καὶ διελθὼν σταδίους ἑξακοσίους ἐξίησιν εἰς τὴν κατὰ
3 Πέρσας θάλασσαν. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Τίγριν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐξίων χώραν, οὖσαν πάμφορον καὶ δαψιλέσιν ὕδασι διαρρεομένην καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἐκφέρουσαν καρπούς· διὸ καὶ τῆς ὡρίμου ξηραινομένης ὀπώρας παντοδαπὰ πλάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν οἱ τὸν Τίγριν πλέοντες ἔμποροι κατάγουσιν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν.

4 Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰς παρόδους φυλαττομένας ὑπὸ Μαδέτου,[1] συγγενοῦς μὲν ὄντος Δαρείου, δύναμιν δὲ ἔχοντος ἀξιόλογον, κατεσκέψατο τὴν ὀχυρότητα

[1] Μαδέτου Cospi; Μαδέου τοῦ F; Μέτου RX. The manuscripts of Curtius (5. 3. 4) give *Medates* and *Madates*.

had come over the Persian kingdom. He saw that he 330/29 B.C.
had committed an act of arrogance quite the reverse of his gentleness to the captives, and calling the page who had placed the table ordered him to remove it. Then Philotas, who was present, said, "But this was not insolence, for the action was not commanded by you; it occurred through the providence and design of a good spirit." So the king took this remark for an omen, and ordered the table to be left standing at the foot of the throne.

67. After this Alexander left Dareius's mother, his daughters, and his son in Susa,[1] providing them with persons to teach them the Greek language, and marching on with his army on the fourth day reached the Tigris River.[2] This flows down from the mountains of the Uxii and passes at first for a thousand furlongs through rough country broken by great gorges, but then traverses a level plain and becomes ever quieter, and after six hundred furlongs empties into the Persian sea. This he crossed, and entered the country of the Uxii, which was rich, watered by numerous streams, and productive of many fruits of all kinds. At the season when the ripe fruit is dried, the merchants who sail on the Tigris are able to bring down to Babylonia all sorts of confections good for the pleasures of the table.[3]

Alexander found the passages guarded by Madetes, a cousin of Dareius, with a substantial force, and he saw at once the difficulty of the place. The sheer

[1] Curtius, 5. 2. 17.
[2] That is, the Pasitigris (Curtius, 5. 3. 1: "fourth day"; Arrian, 3. 17. 1).
[3] For the character of the country cp. Strabo, 15. 3. 6. 729. No one else so emphasizes its fertility.

τῶν τόπων. ἀπαροδεύτων δ' ὄντων κρημνῶν τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις ἀνήρ, Οὔξιος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἔμπειρος δὲ τῶν τόπων, ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ βασιλεῖ διά τινος στενῆς ἀτραποῦ καὶ παραβόλου ἄξειν τοὺς στρατιώ-
5 τας, ὥστε ὑπερδεξίους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος προσδεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους τούτῳ μὲν συναπέστειλε τοὺς ἱκανοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δίοδον κατασκευάσας ἐφ' ὧν[1] ἦν ἐνδεχόμενον ἐκ διαδοχῆς προσέβαλε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν παρόδων ἐφεστηκόσιν. ἐνεργῶς δὲ τοῦ κινδύνου συνεστῶτος καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων περισπωμένων περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα παραδόξως οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐφάνησαν ὑπερδέξιοι τοῖς τὴν πάροδον φυλάττουσι. καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμησάντων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῆς διεξόδου καὶ ταχέως πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐξιανὴν πόλεων.

68. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀναζεύξας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ πεμπταῖος ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σουσιάδας καλουμένας πέτρας. ταύτας δὲ προκατειληφὼς ἦν ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεζῶν μὲν δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ τριακοσίων.
2 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς δόξας τῇ βίᾳ κρατήσειν τῆς πύλης προῆγε διὰ τόπων στενῶν καὶ τραχέων οὐδενὸς παρενοχλοῦντος. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μέχρι μέν τινος εἴων αὐτὸν διαπορεύεσθαι τὰς παρόδους, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς μέσας τὰς δυσχωρίας ἧκον, ἄφνω τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἁμαξιαίους λίθους ἐπεκύλιον, οἳ προσπίπτοντες ἄφνω τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀθρόοις[2] πολλοὺς διέφθειρον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς πεπυκνωμένους οὐκ

[1] ἐφ' ὧν codd. ; ἀφ' ὧν Wesseling ; ἐφ' ὅσον Fischer.
[2] ἀθρόοις Fischer ; ἀθρόοι F ; omitted by RX.

cliffs offered no passage, but an Uxian native who 330/29 B.C. knew the country offered to lead soldiers by a narrow and hazardous path to a position above the enemy. Alexander accepted the proposal and sent off with him a body of troops, while he himself expedited the move as far as possible and attacked the defenders in waves. The assault was pressed vigorously and the Persians were preoccupied with the struggle when to their astonishment above their heads appeared the flying column of Macedonians. The Persians were frightened and took to their heels. Thus Alexander won the pass and soon after took all the cities in Uxianê.[1]

68. Thereafter Alexander marched on in the direction of Persis and on the fifth day [2] came to the so-called Susian Rocks.[3] Here the passage was held by Ariobarzanes with a force of twenty-five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry.[4] The king first thought to force his way through and advanced to the pass through narrow defiles in rough country, but without opposition. The Persians allowed him to proceed along the pass for some distance, but when he was about half-way through the hard part, they suddenly attacked him and rolled down from above huge boulders, which falling suddenly upon the massed ranks of the Macedonians killed many of them. Many of the enemy threw javelins down from the cliffs into the crowd, and did not miss their mark.

[1] Curtius, 5. 3. 4-15 ; Arrian, 3. 17.
[2] Curtius, 5. 3. 17.
[3] Arrian's account (3. 18) explains that Alexander had sent on his main body of troops toward Persis along the royal road, and only undertook this pass with a flying column.
[4] Curtius, 5. 3. 17 (25,000 infantry) ; Arrian, 3. 18. 2 (40,000 infantry and 700 cavalry).

ἀπετύγχανον τῶν σκοπῶν· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ χειρὸς τοῖς λίθοις βάλλοντες τοὺς βιαζομένους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνέστελλον. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῖς τῆς δυσχωρίας συνεργούσης ἐπλεονέκτουν καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεννον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατετίτρωσκον.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ δεινότητι τοῦ πάθους ἀδυνατῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ θεωρῶν μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τεθνηκότα μήτε ὅλως τετρωμένον, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων ἀπολωλότας μὲν πολλούς, κατατετρωμένους δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπαντας τοὺς προσβάλλοντας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς
4 μάχης. ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόδων σταδίους τριακοσίους[1] κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπυνθάνετο μή τις ἑτέρα ἐστὶ διεκβολή. πάντων δ' ἀποφαινομένων δίοδον μὲν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ὑπάρχειν, περίοδον δὲ εἶναι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίσας ἀτάφους ἀπολιπεῖν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας καὶ τὴν αἴτησιν τῶν νεκρῶν οὖσαν ὁρῶν ἀσχήμονα καὶ περιέχουσαν ἥττης ὁμολόγησιν προσέταξεν ἀναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
5 ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἧκεν ὑπαγόμενος[2] ἀνὴρ δίγλωττος, εἰδὼς τὴν Περσικὴν διάλεκτον.

Οὗτος δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀπεφαίνετο Λύκιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος, αἰχμάλωτον δὲ γενόμενον ποιμαίνειν κατὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὀρεινὴν ἔτη πλείω· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἔμπειρον γενέσθαι τῆς χώρας καὶ δύνασθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀγαγεῖν διὰ τῆς καταδένδρου καὶ κατόπιν

[1] τριακοσίους RX; τετρακοσίους F.
[2] ἀπαγόμενος RX; ὑπαγόμενος F (with ἀπ added by a second hand); ἀναγόμενος Dindorf.

[1] Curtius, 5. 3. 17-23, more reasonably, says thirty furlongs.

Still others coming to close quarters flung stones at the Macedonians who pressed on. The Persians had a tremendous advantage because of the difficulty of the country, killed many and injured not a few. 330/29 B.C.

Alexander was quite helpless to avert the sufferings of his men and seeing that no one of the enemy was killed or even wounded, while of his own force many were slain and practically all the attacking force were disabled, he recalled the soldiers from the battle with a trumpet signal. Withdrawing from the pass for a distance of three hundred furlongs,[1] he pitched camp and from the natives sought to learn whether there was any other route through the hills. All insisted that there was no other way through, although it was possible to go around them at the cost of several days' travel. It seemed to Alexander, however, discreditable to abandon his dead and unseemly to ask for them, since this carried with it the acknowledgement of defeat, so he ordered all his captives to be brought up. Among these came hopefully a man who was bilingual,[2] and knew the Persian language.

He said that he was a Lycian, had been brought there as a captive, and had pastured goats in these mountains for a number of years. He had come to know the country well and could lead a force of men over a path concealed by bushes [3] and bring them to

[2] Strictly speaking, that is, he knew Persian and Lycian (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 37. 1), but Curtius (5. 4. 4) adds more relevantly that he also knew Greek.

[3] This is a somewhat unexpected term which editors have viewed with suspicion, but a path which follows folds in the mountains is often marked by vegetation. Curtius (5. 4. 24) locates these bushes in a great ravine.

6 ποιῆσαι τῶν τηρούντων τὰς παρόδους. ὁ δὲ βα-
σιλεὺς μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τιμήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος
τὸν ἄνδρα τούτου καθηγουμένου διῆλθεν ἐπιπόνως
τὴν ὀρεινὴν νυκτὸς πολλὴν μὲν πατήσας χιόνα,
πᾶσαν δὲ κρημνώδη χώραν περάσας, χαράδραις
7 βαθείαις καὶ πολλαῖς φάραγξι διειλημμένην. ἐπι-
φανεὶς δὲ ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν
πρώτους κατέκοψε, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας
φυλακῆς τεταγμένους ἐζώγρησε, τοὺς δὲ τρίτους
τρεψάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν παρόδων καὶ τοὺς πλεί-
στους τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀπέκτεινε.

69. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Περσέπολιν προάγων
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκομίσατο παρὰ τοῦ κυ-
ριεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Τιριδάτου. ἐν ταύτῃ δ' ἦν
γεγραμμένον ὅτι[1] ἐὰν παραγενόμενος φθάσῃ τοὺς
ἐπιβαλλομένους διατηρῆσαι Δαρείῳ τὴν Περσέ-
πολιν, κύριος ἔσται ταύτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδοθείσης.
2 διόπερ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ σπουδὴν ἦγε τὴν δύνα-
μιν καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ζεύξας διεβίβασε τοὺς
στρατιώτας.

Προάγοντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως θέαμα παράδοξον
καὶ δεινὸν ὤφθη, μισοπονηρίαν μὲν περιέχον κατὰ
τῶν πραξάντων, ἔλεον δὲ καὶ συμπάθειαν ἐπιφέρον
3 πρὸς τοὺς ἀνήκεστα πεπονθότας. ἀπήντησαν γὰρ
αὐτῷ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν Ἕλληνες ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον
βασιλέων ἀνάστατοι γεγονότες, ὀκτακόσιοι μὲν
σχεδὸν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, ταῖς δ' ἡλικίαις οἱ

[1] ὅτι supplied by Fischer.

[1] Curtius, 5. 7. 12, states that he did actually receive thirty talents.

the rear of the Persians guarding the pass. The king 330/29 B.C.
promised that he would load him with gifts,[1] and under his direction Alexander did make his way over the mountain at night struggling through deep snow.[2] The route crossed a very broken country, seamed by deep ravines and many gorges. Coming into sight of the enemy outposts, he cut down their first line and captured those who were stationed in the second position, then routed the third line and won the pass, and killed most of the troops of Ariobarzanes.[3]

69. Now he set out on the road to Persepolis, and while he was on the road received a letter from the governor of the city, whose name was Tiridates.[4] It stated that if he arrived ahead of those who planned to defend the city for Dareius, he would become master of it, for Tiridates would betray it to him. Accordingly Alexander led his army on by forced marches; he bridged the Araxes River and so brought his men to the other bank.[5]

At this point in his advance the king was confronted by a strange and dreadful sight, one to provoke indignation against the perpetrators and sympathetic pity for the unfortunate victims.[6] He was met by Greeks bearing branches of supplication. They had been carried away from their homes by previous kings of Persia and were about eight hundred in

[2] Curtius, 5. 4. 18. Arrian (3. 18. 5) states that this force included five squadrons of heavy cavalry and 4500 Macedonian hoplites.

[3] For the whole story, Curtius, 5. 4; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 37; Arrian, 3. 18. 1-9.

[4] "Custos pecuniae regiae," Curtius, 5. 5. 2.

[5] Curtius, 5. 5. 4.

[6] This story is told at somewhat greater length by Curtius (5. 5. 5-24), as well as by Justin (11. 14. 11-12). It is not given by Plutarch or Arrian.

πλεῖστοι μὲν γεγηρακότες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι δὲ πάντες, οἱ μὲν χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πόδας, οἱ δὲ ὦτα καὶ
4 ῥῖνας· τῶν δ' ἐπιστήμας ἢ τέχνας εἰδότων καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ προκεκοφότων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀπεκέκοπτο,[1] αὐτὰ δὲ μόνα τὰ συνεργοῦντα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἀπελέλειπτο· ὥστε πάντας ὁρῶντας τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰς περιεχούσας τὰ σώματα συμφορὰς ἐλεεῖν τὰς τύχας[2] τῶν ἀκληρούντων, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον συμπαθῆ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν τὰ δάκρυα.
5 Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ ἅμα ἁπάντων καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀξιούντων ἀμῦναι ταῖς ἰδίαις συμφοραῖς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς προεστηκότας καὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας ἀξίως τιμήσας ἐπηγγείλατο πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον
6 ἀνακομιδῆς.[3] οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι προέκριναν τὴν αὐτόθι μονὴν τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς. ἀνασωθέντας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς διασπαρήσεσθαι κατ' ὀλίγους καὶ περιόντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπονείδιστον ἕξειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐπήρειαν· μετ' ἀλλήλων δὲ βιοῦντας, τὴν ὁμοίαν συμφορὰν ἔχοντας, παραμύθιον ἕξειν τῆς ἰδίας ἀκληρίας τὴν τῶν ἄλλων
7 τῆς ἀκληρίας ὁμοιότητα. διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἐντυχόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν δηλώσαντες ἐδέοντο πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόστασιν οἰκείαν παρέχεσθαι
8 βοήθειαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος συγκαταθέμενος τοῖς δεδογμένοις τρισχιλίας μὲν ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἐδωρή-

[1] ἀπεκέκοπτο Dindorf; ἀπέκοπτον RX; ἀπέκοπτεν F.
[2] ψυχὰς RX.
[3] The order of words is that of Dindorf. The manuscripts

number, most of them elderly. All had been mutilated, some lacking hands, some feet, and some ears and noses. They were persons who had acquired skills or crafts and had made good progress in their instruction; then their other extremities had been amputated and they were left only those which were vital to their profession. All the soldiers, seeing their venerable years and the losses which their bodies had suffered, pitied the lot of the wretches. Alexander most of all was affected by them and unable to restrain his tears. 330/29 B.C.

They all cried with one voice and besought Alexander to help them in their misfortunes. The king called their leaders to come forward and, greeting them with a respect in keeping with his own greatness of spirit, promised to make it a matter of utmost concern that they should be restored to their homes. They gathered to debate the matter, and decided that it would be better for them to remain where they were rather than to return home. If they were brought back safely, they would be scattered in small groups, and would find their abuse at the hands of Fortune an object of reproach as they lived on in their cities. If, however, they continued living together, as companions in misfortune, they would find a solace for their mutilation in the similar mutilation of the others. So they again appeared before the king, told him of their decision, and asked him to give them help appropriate to this proposal. Alexander applauded their decision and gave each of them three

read προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐπηγγείλατο πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι (ποιήσεσθαι F) καὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας ἀξίως τιμήσας φροντίδα ποιήσασθαι (ποιήσειν RX) τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς.

σατο καὶ στολὰς ἀνδρείας πέντε καὶ γυναικείας ἴσας, ζεύγη δὲ βοϊκὰ δύο καὶ πρόβατα πεντήκοντα καὶ πυρῶν μεδίμνους πεντήκοντα· ἐποίησεν δὲ καὶ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς παντὸς βασιλικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστάταις προσέταξε φροντίζειν ὅπως μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀδικῶνται.

9 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἀκολούθως τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιεικείᾳ τοιαύταις εὐεργεσίαις τὰς τῶν ἠτυχηκότων συμφορὰς διωρθώσατο.

70. Τὴν δὲ Περσέπολιν, μητρόπολιν οὖσαν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας, ἀπέδειξε τοῖς Μακεδόσι πολεμιωτάτην τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκεν εἰς διαρπαγὴν χωρὶς τῶν βα-
2 σιλείων. πλουσιωτάτης δ' οὔσης τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἴκων πεπληρωμένων ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παντοίας εὐδαιμονίας οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῄεσαν τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας πάντας φονεύοντες, τὰς δὲ κτήσεις διαρπάζοντες, πολλὰς μὲν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπαρχούσας, κατασκευῆς δὲ καὶ κόσμου παντοίου γεμούσας.
3 ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς μὲν ἄργυρος διεφορεῖτο, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ χρυσὸς διηρπάζετο, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτες, αἱ μὲν θαλασσίαις πορφύραις, αἱ δὲ χρυσοῖς ἐνυφάσμασι πεποικιλμέναι, τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἔπαθλα καθίσταντο. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιβόητα βασίλεια πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ παντελῆ φθορὰν ἀπεδέδεικτο.

4 Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐνημερεύσαντες ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς τὴν ἄπληστον τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ἐδύναντο
5 πληρῶσαι. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἦν τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπερβολὴ κατὰ τὰς τούτων ἁρπαγὰς ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμάχεσθαι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν τῶν τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἐξιδιοποιουμένων· τινὲς δὲ

thousand drachmae, five men's robes and the same number for women,[1] two yoke of oxen, fifty sheep, and fifty bushels of wheat. He made them also exempt from all royal taxes and charged his administrative officials to see that they were harmed by no one. 330/29 B.C.

Thus Alexander mitigated the lot of these unfortunate persons by such benefactions in keeping with his natural kindness.

70. Persepolis was the capital of the Persian kingdom. Alexander described it to the Macedonians as the most hateful of the cities of Asia,[2] and gave it over to his soldiers to plunder, all but the palaces. It was the richest city under the sun and the private houses had been furnished with every sort of wealth over the years. The Macedonians raced into it slaughtering all the men whom they met and plundering the residences; many of the houses belonged to the common people and were abundantly supplied with furniture and wearing apparel of every kind. Here much silver was carried off and no little gold, and many rich dresses gay with sea purple or with gold embroidery became the prize of the victors. The enormous palaces, famed throughout the whole civilized world, fell victim to insult and utter destruction.

The Macedonians gave themselves up to this orgy of plunder for a whole day and still could not satisfy their boundless greed for more. Such was their exceeding lust for loot withal that they fought with each other and killed many of their fellows who had appropriated a greater portion of it. The richest of the

[1] The same figures are given by Curtius, 5. 5. 24.
[2] Curtius, 5. 6. 1 (not in Arrian).

τὰ πολυτελέστατα[1] τῶν εὑρισκομένων τοῖς ξίφεσι διακόπτοντες τὰς ἰδίας ἀπεκόμιζον μερίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων τοῖς ἀμφισβητουμένοις[2] χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτον, συνεκφερόμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς·
6 τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κόσμοις πρὸς βίαν ἀπῆγον, τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν δουλαγωγοῦντες.[3]

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Περσέπολις ὅσῳ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὑπερεῖχεν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ὑπερεβάλετο τὰς ἄλλας τοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν.

71. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν παρέλαβε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θησαυρούς. οὗτοι δέ, ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου Περσῶν βασιλεύσαντος μέχρι[4] τῶν ὑποκειμένων καιρῶν ἠθροισμένων τῶν προσόδων, ἔγεμον ἀργυρίου[5] τε καὶ χρυσίου· εὑρέθησαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δώδεκα μυριάδες ταλάντων, εἰς ἀρ-
2 γυρίου λόγον ἀγομένου τοῦ χρυσίου. βουλόμενος δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ μὲν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κομίζειν πρὸς τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρείας, ἃ δ᾽ εἰς Σοῦσα καταθέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ταύτῃ[6] τῇ πόλει μετεπέμψατο ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Μεσοποταμίας, ἔτι δ᾽ ἐκ Σούσων ἡμιόνων πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἀχθοφόρων, τῶν δὲ ζευγιτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καμήλους ἀχθοφόρους

[1] πολυτελέστερα RX.
[2] ἀμφισβητοῦσι RX.
[3] The text is that of RX; τὴν αἰχμάλωτον τύχην δουλαγωγοῦντες F.
[4] μέχρις F.
[5] ἀργύρου codd.; corrected by Fischer.
[6] αὐτῇ codd.; corrected by Dindorf.

[1] Curtius, 5. 6. 1-8. In any captured town, it was customary to kill the men and enslave the women. Here, because of the prevailing level of luxury, the rich stuffs were the object

finds some cut through with their swords so that each might have his own part. Some cut off the hands of those who were grasping at disputed property, being driven mad by their passions. They dragged off women, clothes and all, converting their captivity into slavery.[1] 330/29 B.C.

As Persepolis had exceeded all other cities in prosperity, so in the same measure it now exceeded all others in misery.[2]

71. Alexander ascended to the citadel terrace and took possession of the treasure there. This had been accumulated from the state revenues, beginning with Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, down to that time, and the vaults were packed full of silver and gold. The total was found to be one hundred and twenty thousand talents, when the gold was estimated in terms of silver.[3] Alexander wanted to take some money with him to meet the costs of the war, and to deposit the rest in Susa and keep it under guard in that city. Accordingly he sent for a vast number of mules from Babylon and Mesopotamia, as well as from Susa itself, both pack and harness animals as well as three thousand pack camels. By these

of first attention, and women were abducted because of the clothing which they wore.

[2] Diodorus does not say whether Alexander accepted the offer of Tiridates to surrender Persepolis to him (chap. 69. 1). The city was treated as if it had been taken by storm. Curtius (5. 6. 11) reports that Tiridates was rewarded for turning over the royal treasures.

[3] Curtius (5. 6. 9) gives the same figures. The total is expressed as weight of silver and value of gold, the latter being equated to silver according to a proportion which is not stated. The usual ratio of gold to silver in antiquity was 12 or 15 to 1. Strabo (15. 3. 9. 731) reports that the treasure was ultimately assembled at Ecbatana.

τρισχιλίας καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα ἀπεκόμισεν εἰς
3 τοὺς προκριθέντας τόπους· σφόδρα γὰρ ἀλλοτρίως
ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἠπίστει τε αὐτοῖς καὶ
τὴν Περσέπολιν εἰς τέλος ἔσπευδε καταφθεῖραι.
Οὐκ ἀνοίκειον δ' εἶναι νομίζομεν περὶ τῶν ἐν
ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει βασιλείων διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς
4 κατασκευῆς βραχέα διελθεῖν. οὔσης γὰρ ἄκρας
ἀξιολόγου περιείληφεν αὐτὴν τριπλοῦν τεῖχος, οὗ
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναλήμματι πολυδαπάνῳ κατε-
σκεύαστο καὶ τὸ ὕψος εἶχε πηχῶν ἑκκαίδεκα ἐπάλ-
5 ξεσι[1] κεκοσμημένον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἄλλην
κατασκευὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχει τῷ προειρημένῳ, τὸ δ'
ὕψος διπλάσιον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος περίβολος τῷ σχή-
ματι μέν ἐστι τετράπλευρος, τὸ δὲ τούτου τεῖχος
ὕψος ἔχει πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα, λίθῳ σκληρῷ καὶ πρὸς
διαμονὴν αἰωνίαν εὖ πεφυκότι κατεσκευασμένον.
6 ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν ἔχει πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ
παρ' αὐτὰς σταυροὺς χαλκοῦς εἰκοσιπήχεις, οὓς
μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς θέας κατάπληξιν, ἃς δὲ πρὸς
ἀσφάλειαν ἡρμοσμένας.
7 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρει τῆς ἄκρας τέτ-
ταρα πλέθρα διεστηκὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν τὸ καλούμενον
βασιλικόν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπῆρχον οἱ τάφοι.
πέτρα γὰρ ἦν κατεξαμμένη καὶ κατὰ μέσον οἴκους
ἔχουσα πλείονας, ἐν οἷς σηκοὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων
ὑπῆρχον, πρόσβασιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες χειρο-

[1] εἶχεν ἑξκαίδεκα πύργων ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κεκοσμημένων F (with πηχῶν added in the margin by a second hand).

[1] By the term "natives" here Diodorus means the people of Persepolis and the vicinity. Alexander was more and more to employ other Persians in his service.

means Alexander transported everything to the desired places. He felt bitter enmity to the inhabitants.[1] He did not trust them, and he meant to destroy Persepolis utterly. 330/29 B.C.

I think that it is not inappropriate to speak briefly about the palace area of the city because of the richness of its buildings.[2] The citadel is a noteworthy one, and is surrounded by a triple wall. The first part of this is built over an elaborate foundation. It is sixteen cubits in height and is topped by battlements. The second wall is in all other respects like the first but of twice the height. The third circuit is rectangular in plan, and is sixty cubits in height,[3] built of a stone hard and naturally durable. Each of the sides contains a gate with bronze doors, beside each of which stand bronze poles twenty cubits high[4]; these were intended to catch the eye of the beholder, but the gates were for security.

At the eastern side of the terrace at a distance of four plethra[5] is the so-called royal hill in which were the graves of the kings. This was a smooth rock hollowed out into many chambers in which were the sepulchres of the dead kings. These have no other

[2] This description of Persepolis is not given elsewhere. It is to be compared with the remains of the city as excavated by the University of Chicago.

[3] Ninety feet. The highest foundations of walls preserved at Persepolis are eighteen metres or about sixty feet. No stone walls remain in the city.

[4] The purpose of these is unknown, but they suggest the flagstaffs which stood by the pylons of the Egyptian temples.

[5] Fischer asked relevantly, "Distance from where?" This space of four hundred feet is rather less than the west-east width of the terrace from the appadana to the steep mountain side. This last is full of caves suitable for burials, many of them very old.

ποίητον,[1] ὑπὸ ὀργάνων δέ τινων χειροποιήτων ἐξαι-
8 ρομένων τῶν νεκρῶν δεχόμενοι τὰς ταφάς. κατὰ
δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην ἦσαν καταλύσεις βασιλικαὶ
καὶ στρατηγικαὶ πλείους πολυτελεῖς ταῖς κατα-
σκευαῖς καὶ θησαυροὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
παραφυλακὴν εὐθέτως κατεσκευασμένοι.

72. Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπινίκια τῶν κατορθωμά-
των ἐπιτελῶν θυσίας τε μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς
συνετέλεσεν καὶ τῶν φίλων λαμπρὰς ἑστιάσεις ἐ-
ποιήσατο. καὶ δή ποτε τῶν ἑταίρων εὐωχουμένων
καὶ τοῦ μὲν πότου προβαίνοντος, τῆς δὲ μέθης
προϊούσης κατέσχε λύσσα ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν
2 οἰνωμένων. ὅτε δὴ καὶ μία τῶν παρουσῶν γυ-
ναικῶν, ὄνομα μὲν Θαΐς, Ἀττικὴ δὲ τὸ γένος,
εἶπεν κάλλιστον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
πεπραγμένων ἔσεσθαι, ἐὰν κωμάσας μετ' αὐτῶν
ἐμπρήσῃ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὰ Περσῶν περιβόητα γυ-
ναικῶν χεῖρες ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ ποιήσωσιν ἄφαντα.
3 τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων εἰς ἄνδρας νέους καὶ διὰ τὴν
μέθην ἀλόγως μετεωριζομένους, ὡς εἰκός, ἄγειν τις
ἀνεβόησε καὶ δᾷδας ἅπτειν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἱερὰ παρανομίαν ἀμύνασθαι παρεκελεύετο.
4 συνεπευφημούντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων καὶ λεγόντων μό-
νῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην προσήκειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ
τοῦ βασιλέως συνεξαρθέντος τοῖς λόγοις πάντες
ἀνεπήδησαν ἐκ τοῦ πότου καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον κῶμον
ἄγειν Διονύσῳ παρήγγειλαν.

5 Ταχὺ δὲ πλήθους λαμπάδων ἀθροισθέντος καὶ γυ-

[1] Post would delete as tautological, and I have omitted it in the translation.

[1] Or, literally, generals.

access but receive the sarcophagi of the dead which are lifted by certain mechanical hoists. Scattered about the royal terrace were residences of the kings and members of the royal family as well as quarters for the great nobles,[1] all luxuriously furnished, and buildings suitably made for guarding the royal treasure. 330/29 B.C.

72. Alexander held games in honour of his victories. He performed costly sacrifices to the gods and entertained his friends bountifully. While they were feasting and the drinking was far advanced, as they began to be drunken a madness took possession of the minds of the intoxicated guests.[2] At this point one of the women present, Thaïs by name and Attic by origin, said that for Alexander it would be the finest of all his feats in Asia if he joined them in a triumphal procession, set fire to the palaces, and permitted women's hands in a minute to extinguish the famed accomplishments of the Persians. This was said to men who were still young and giddy with wine, and so, as would be expected, someone shouted out to form the comus and to light torches, and urged all to take vengeance for the destruction of the Greek temples.[3] Others took up the cry and said that this was a deed worthy of Alexander alone. When the king had caught fire at their words, all leaped up from their couches and passed the word along to form a victory procession in honour of Dionysus.

Promptly many torches were gathered. Female

[2] Arrian (3. 18. 11) barely mentions the burning of Persepolis, but the story of Thaïs was a popular one. It is told in substantially this form by Curtius (5. 7) and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 38). See Addenda.

[3] That is, in the invasions of Greece by Dareius and Xerxes. Cp. Book 16. 89. 2.

ναικῶν μουσουργῶν εἰς τὸν πότον παρειλημμένων μετ' ᾠδῆς καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων προῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κῶμον, καθηγουμένης τῆς πράξεως
6 Θαΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας. αὕτη δὲ μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα πρώτη τὴν δᾷδα καιομένην ἠκόντισεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταὐτὰ πραξάντων ταχὺ πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια τόπος κατεφλέχθη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φλογὸς καὶ τὸ πάντων παραδοξότατον, τὸ Ξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως γενόμενον ἀσέβημα περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μία γυνὴ πολῖτις τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐν παιδιᾷ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσι μετῆλθε τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάθεσιν.

73. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων γενόμενος τὰς κατὰ τὴν Περσίδα πόλεις ἐπῆλθεν καὶ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος, τὰς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιείκειαν
2 προσαγόμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον. οὗτος δ' ἐπεβάλετο μὲν ἀθροίζειν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων[1] σατραπειῶν δυνάμεις, καταταχούμενος δὲ καὶ μετὰ τρισμυρίων Περσῶν τε καὶ μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων τὴν φυγὴν εἰς Βάκτρα ποιούμενος ὑπὸ Βήσσου τοῦ Βάκτρων σατράπου κατὰ τὴν ἀναχώ-
3 ρησιν συλληφθεὶς ἐδολοφονήθη. ἄρτι δ' αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκότος Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιδιώκων καὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τετελευτηκότα καταλαβὼν
4 τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἠξίωσεν. ὡς δ' ἔνιοι γεγράφασιν, ἔμπνουν ἔτι καταλαβὼν τοῖς μὲν ἀτυχήμασιν αὐτοῦ συνήλγησε, παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου μετελθεῖν τὸν φόνον καὶ καθομολογήσας ἐδίωξε τὸν Βῆσσον. ἐκείνου δὲ πολὺ προειληφότος καὶ συμ-

musicians were present at the banquet, so the king 330/29 B.C.
led them all out for the comus to the sound of voices and flutes and pipes, Thaïs the courtesan leading the whole performance. She was the first, after the king, to hurl her blazing torch into the palace. As the others all did the same, immediately the entire palace area was consumed, so great was the conflagration. It was most remarkable that the impious act of Xerxes, king of the Persians, against the acropolis at Athens should have been repaid in kind after many years by one woman, a citizen of the land which had suffered it, and in sport.

73. When all this was over, Alexander visited the cities of Persis, capturing some by storm and winning over others by his own fair dealing.[1] Then he set out after Dareius. The Persian king had planned to bring together the armed forces of Bactria and the other satrapies, but Alexander was too quick for him. Dareius directed his flight toward the city of Bactra with thirty thousand Persians[2] and Greek mercenaries, but in the course of this retirement he was seized and murdered by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria. Just after his death, Alexander rode up in hot pursuit with his cavalry, and, finding him dead, gave him a royal funeral. Some, however, have written that Alexander found him still breathing and commiserated with him on his disasters. Dareius urged him to avenge his death, and Alexander, agreeing, set out after Bessus, but the satrap had a long start and

[1] Curtius, 5. 6. 11-19, reports what must have been a substantial campaign. It is ignored by Arrian.
[2] The same figure in Curtius, 5. 8. 3.

[1] ἄλλων codd.; ἄνω Dindorf. Bactria itself was one of the Upper Satrapies.

φυγόντος εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπογνοὺς τὸν τῶν πολεμίων διωγμόν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐπταικότες μεγάλῃ παρατάξει διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἠναγκάσθησαν διαπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· ἐκείνου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀποστείλαντος οἱ μὲν σύνεδροι συνήχθησαν εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων λόγων πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀκέραιον τὴν
6 κρίσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμψαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίπατρος ὁμήρους ἔλαβε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πεντήκοντα, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς δοῦναι συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγνοημένοις.

74. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Κηφισοφῶν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Γάιος Οὐαλλέριος[1] καὶ Μάρκος Κλώδιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Βῆσσος μὲν μετὰ τὴν Δαρείου τελευτὴν μετὰ Ναβάρνου[2] καὶ Βαρξάεντος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων διαφυγὼν τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου χεῖρας διήνυσε μὲν εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, ἀποδεδειγμένος δὲ ταύτης σατράπης ὑπὸ Δαρείου καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι γεγονὼς γνώριμος διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεκάλει τὰ πλήθη τῆς

[1] Οὐαλέριος F.
[2] Rhodoman corrected to Ναβαρ⟨ζά⟩νου.

[1] Diodorus does scant justice to the dramatic story of Dareius's flight, overtaking, and death; cp. Curtius, 5. 8-13; Justin, 11. 15; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 42. 3-43. 3; Arrian, 3. 19-22. The standard version in all is that Dareius was still living when discovered, but died before Alexander saw him. Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, on the other

got away into Bactria, so Alexander suspended the chase and returned.[1] 330/29 B.C.

That was the situation in Asia.

In Europe the Lacedaemonians were forced by their defeat in a decisive battle to make overtures to Antipater.[2] He referred his reply to the council of the Hellenic League.[3] When the delegates came together in Corinth, there was a long discussion on both sides, and they decided to pass the issue on without a decision to Alexander. Antipater took as hostages fifty of the most notable of the Spartiates, and the Lacedaemonians sent envoys[4] to Asia asking forgiveness for their mistakes.

74. After this year was over, Cephisophon became archon at Athens, and Gaius Valerius and Marcus Clodius consuls in Rome.[5] In this year, now that Dareius was dead, Bessus with Nabarnes and Barxaës[6] and many others of the Iranian nobles got to Bactria, eluding the hands of Alexander. Bessus had been appointed satrap of this region by Dareius and being known to everyone because of his administration, now called upon the population to defend their free- 329/8 B.C.

hand, has Alexander covering Dareius with his own cloak (1. 11. 332 F).

[2] Continued from chaps. 48. 1 and 62. 6–63. 4.

[3] Curtius (6. 1. 19) suggests that this was due to Antipater's fear of Alexander.

[4] Curtius, 6. 1. 20. This delegation is to be distinguished from the Spartan envoys to Dareius whom Alexander arrested (Curtius, 6. 5. 7; Arrian, 3. 24. 4).

[5] Cephisophon was archon at Athens from July of 329 to June of 328 B.C. The Roman consuls of 331 B.C. were C. Valerius Potitus and M. Claudius Marcellus (Broughton, 1. 143).

[6] These names appear as Nabarzanes and Barsaëntes in Curtius and Arrian.

2 ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι· ἀπεδείκνυε δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ συνεργήσειν οὖσαν δυσείσβολον[1] καὶ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν ἔχουσαν ἀνδρῶν εἰς κατάκτησιν τῆς αὐτονομίας. ἐπαγγελλόμενος δὲ καθηγήσασθαι[2] τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πείσας ἀνέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα. οὗτος μὲν οὖν στρατιώτας τε κατέγραφε[3] καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τἄλλα φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὴν κατεπείγουσαν χρείαν παρεσκευάζετο.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας τέλος τῆς στρατείας τὴν Δαρείου τελευτὴν τάττοντας καὶ μετεώρους ὄντας πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάνοδον τούτους μὲν ἀθροίσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λόγοις οἰκείοις παρορμήσας εὐπειθεῖς πρὸς τὴν ὑπολειπομένην στρατείαν παρεσκεύασεν, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων συμμαχήσαντας συναγαγὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας ἀπέλυσε μὲν τῆς στρατείας, ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἑκάστῳ τάλαντον, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν μνᾶς δέκα, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τούς τε ὀφειλομένους μισθοὺς ἀπέλυσε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας
4 καθόδου προσέθηκεν· τῶν δ' ἑλομένων μένειν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ τρία τάλαντα. μεγάλαις δὲ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε τοὺς στρα-

[1] δυσέμβολον F.
[2] καθηγήσεσθαι F.
[3] κατέγραψε codd.; corrected by Dindorf.

---

[1] Curtius, 6. 6. 13; Arrian, 3. 25. 3.
[2] Curtius, 6. 2. 15–3. 18; Justin, 12. 3. 2-3; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 47.
[3] These were the troops furnished according to their de-

dom. He pointed out that the nature of their country would assist them very much, since the region was hard for an enemy to penetrate and furnished enough men for them to establish their independence. He proclaimed that he would take personal command of the war and designated himself king, with the approval of the people. Then he set to work enrolling soldiers, manufacturing an adequate stock of weapons, and busily making everything ready for the approaching time of need.[1] 329/8 B.C.

Alexander, for his part, was aware that the Macedonians regarded Dareius's death as the end of the campaign and were impatient to go home. He called them all to a meeting and, addressing them with effective arguments, made them willing to follow him in the part of the war which remained,[2] but he assembled the allied troops from the Greek cities[3] and praising them for their services released them from their military duty. He gave to each of the cavalry a talent and to each of the infantry ten minas.[4] Besides this he paid them their wages up to date and added more to cover the period of their march back until they should return to their homes. To those who would remain with him in the royal army, he gave a bonus of three talents each. He treated the soldiers with such lavishness in part because of his

cision by the members of the Hellenic League (Books 16. 89. 3; 17. 4. 9). Curtius (6. 2. 17), also, reports their dismissal at this time; their mission was complete with the destruction of Persepolis and the death of Dareius. Arrian (3. 19. 5) places their dismissal earlier, at Ecbatana.

[4] Curtius (6. 2. 17) gives the same figures. These sums are much larger than those distributed at Babylon (chap. 64. 6). One may wonder whether Alexander could have been so generous to Greeks without taking care of the Macedonians equally well.

τιώτας ἅμα μὲν φύσει μεγαλόψυχος ὤν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ διώξει τοῦ Δαρείου πολλῶν χρημάτων κεκυριευκώς· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γαζοφυλακούντων παρέλαβεν ὀκτακισχιλίων ταλάντων ἀριθμόν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ νεμηθέντα τοῖς στρατιώταις σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκπώμασιν ὑπῆρχε μύρια καὶ τρισχίλια τάλαντα, τὰ δὲ διακλαπέντα καὶ ἁρπαχθέντα πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπενοεῖτο.

75. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναζεύξας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν τριταῖος κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον πόλεως τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἑκατονταπύλου. εὐδαίμονος δ' αὐτῆς οὔσης καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνηκόντων πολλῆς ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης ἐνταῦθα
2 τὴν δύναμιν ἀνέλαβεν ἐπί τινας ἡμέρας. διελθὼν δὲ σταδίους ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον πέτρας μεγάλης· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ῥίζαν αὐτῆς ἄντρον ὑπῆρχε θεοπρεπές, ἐξ οὗ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξέπιπτεν ὁ καλούμενος Στιβοίτης. οὗτος δὲ λάβρῳ τῷ ῥεύματι φερόμενος ἐπὶ τρεῖς σταδίους σχίζεται διπλοῦς περί τινα πέτραν μαστοειδῆ, ἔχουσαν[1] ὑφ' αὐτὴν χάσμα γῆς παμμέγεθες· εἰς δὲ τοῦτο καταράττων μετὰ πολλοῦ ψόφου καὶ γινόμενος ἀφρώδης διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν πληγῆς φέρεται ὑπὸ γῆν σταδίους τριακοσίους, ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀνοίγει τὰς ἐκβολάς.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὑρκανῶν χώραν πάσας τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας καλουμένης θαλάττης, ἣν Ὑρκανίαν τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐν ταύτῃ δέ φασι πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ μεγάλους ὄφεις

[1] τινι πέτρᾳ μαστοειδεῖ ἐχούσῃ F.

native generosity and in part because he had come 329/8 B.C.
into possession of very much money in the course of his pursuit of Dareius. He had received from the royal treasurers the sum of eight thousand talents. Apart from this, what was distributed to the soldiers, including clothing and goblets, came to thirteen thousand talents,[1] while what was stolen or taken as plunder was thought to be even more still.

75. Alexander started out for Hyrcania and on the third day encamped near a city called Hecatontapylus.[2] This was a wealthy city with a profusion of everything contributing to pleasure, so he rested his army there for some days. Then, advancing one hundred and fifty furlongs, he encamped near a huge rock[3]; under its base there was a marvellous cave from which flowed a great river known as the Stiboeites.[4] This tumbles out with a rapid current for a distance of three furlongs, and then divides into two courses on either side of a breast-shaped "rock," beneath which there is a vast cavern. Into this the river plunges with a great roar, foaming from its clash against the rock. After flowing underground a distance of three hundred furlongs, it again breaks its way to the surface.[5]

Alexander entered Hyrcania with his army and took possession of all the cities there as far as the so-called Caspian Sea, which some name the Hyrcanian. In this they say are spawned many large serpents and

[1] Curtius (6. 2. 10) gives 12,000 talents.
[2] Usually called Hecatompylus; Curtius, 6. 2. 15.
[3] Cp. on chap. 28, above, p. 195, note 5.
[4] Curtius, 6. 4. 3-7. The spring is identified as the modern Chesmeh-i-Ali about fifteen miles north-west of Hecatompylus; cp. P. Pédech, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 60 (1958), 67-81.
[5] Curtius (6. 4. 4-5) gives the same figures.

γεννᾶσθαι, ἰχθῦς δὲ παντοδαποὺς πολὺ τῇ χροιᾷ
4 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν διαλλάττοντας. διεξιὼν δὲ τὴν
Ὑρκανίαν κατήντησε πρὸς τὰς καλουμένας Εὐδαί-
μονας καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔσας κώμας· πολὺ γὰρ
τοῖς καρποῖς ἡ χώρα τούτων ὑπεράγει τῶν παρὰ
5 τοῖς ἄλλοις. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀμπέλων φασὶν ἑκάστην
μετρητὴν φέρειν οἴνου, τῶν δὲ συκίνων δένδρων
ἔνια καρποφορεῖν ἰσχάδων ξηρῶν μεδίμνους δέκα.
τὸν δ' ἐν τῷ θερισμῷ παραλειφθέντα σῖτον ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν πεσόντα βλαστάνειν ἄσπορον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς
6 τὸ τέλος ἄγειν δαψιλῆ καρπόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δένδρον
παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις παραπλήσιον δρυῒ κατὰ τὴν
ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φύλλων ἀπολεῖβον μέλι·
καὶ τοῦτό τινες συνάγοντες δαψιλῆ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν
7 αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ζῷον κατὰ τὴν
χώραν ἐπτερωμένον, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν ἀνθρηδών,
λειπόμενον δὲ μεγέθει μελίττης μεγίστην ἔχει τὴν
ὠφέλειαν[1]· ἐπινεμόμενον γὰρ τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἄνθη παν-
τοῖα δρέπεται καὶ ταῖς κοιλάσι πέτραις καὶ τοῖς
κεραυνοβόλοις τῶν δένδρων ἐνδιατρῖβον κηροπλα-
στεῖ καὶ κατασκευάζει χύμα διάφορον τῇ γλυκύ-
τητι, τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν μέλιτος οὐ πολὺ λειπόμενον.
76. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καὶ τὰ συν-
ορίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ προσηγάγετο·
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν συμπεφευγότων ἡγεμόνων τῷ Δα-
ρείῳ παρέδωκαν αὑτούς· οἷς ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχ-

[1] ὠφέλειαν Dindorf; ἐπιφάνειαν codd.

[1] Curtius, 6. 4. 18.
[2] Strabo, 11. 7. 2 (cp. 2. 1. 14), who says sixty medimni. A metretes was about four and one-half gallons, a medimnus about one and one-half bushels.
[3] This item comes from Onesicritus, and concerns a fig tree

fish of all sorts quite different in colour from ours.[1] 329/8 B.C. He passed through Hyrcania and came to the Fortunate Villages, as they are called, and truly such they are, for their land produces crops far more generously than elsewhere. They say that each vine produces a metretes of wine, while there are some fig trees which produce ten medimni of dried figs.[2] The grain which is overlooked at the harvest and falls to the ground germinates without being sown and brings to maturity an abundant harvest. There is a tree known to the natives like an oak in appearance, from the leaves of which honey drips; this some collect and take their pleasure from it abundantly.[3] There is a winged animal in this country which they call anthredon, smaller than the bee but very useful. It roams the mountains gathering nectar from every kind of flower. Dwelling in hollow rocks and lightning-blasted trees it forms combs of wax and fashions a liquor of surpassing sweetness, not far inferior to our honey.[4]

76. Thus Alexander acquired Hyrcania and the tribes which were its neighbours, and many of the Iranian commanders who had fled with Dareius came to him and gave themselves up.[5] He received them

called "occhus." Cp. Curtius, 6. 4. 22; Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 4. 4. 12; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 12. 18. 33.

[4] With some exaggeration, Cleitarchus said of this insect (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 137, F 14): "It lays waste the hill-country and dashes into the hollow oaks." Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, 2. 90) may be right in preferring the manuscript reading which would make it "smaller than the bee but with a vast appearance," although I do not see precisely what this would mean. Cp. Strabo, 2. 1. 14.

[5] Individuals are named in Curtius, 6. 4. 8-14; 4. 23–5. 5; 5. 22-23; Arrian, 3. 23. 7-9.

2 θεὶς μεγάλην δόξαν ἐπιεικείας ἀπηνέγκατο· εὐθὺ
γὰρ οἱ Δαρείῳ συνεστρατευμένοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ὄντες περὶ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀνδρείᾳ τε
διαφέροντες, παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ
συγγνώμης ἀξιωθέντες κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὰς τά-
ξεις ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς μισθοφοραῖς.
3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπελθὼν τὴν παραθαλάσσιον
τῆς Ὑρκανίας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ὀνομαζο-
μένων Μάρδων. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀλκῇ διαφέροντες ὑπερ-
εφρόνησαν τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς
4 ἐντεύξεως ἢ τιμῆς ἠξίωσαν αὐτόν, προκαταλαβό-
μενοι δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατιώταις ὀκτακισχιλίοις
τεθαρρηκότως τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔφοδον ὑπέ-
μενον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπιπεσὼν[1] αὐτοῖς καὶ συν-
άψας μάχην τοὺς πλείους μὲν κατέκοψε, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας κατεδίωξε.
5 Πυρπολοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν τοὺς
βασιλικοὺς ἵππους ἀγόντων παίδων βραχὺ τοῦ βα-
σιλέως χωρισθέντων ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς τῶν βαρ-
6 βάρων ἀφήρπασαν τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ἵππων. οὗτος
δ' ἐδόθη δῶρον μὲν ὑπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Κορινθίου,
συνηγώνιστο δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν
Ἀσίαν ἀγῶνας. γυμνὸς δ' ὢν ἔτι τὸν πωλοδα-
μαστὴν μόνον προσεδέχετο, τυχὼν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς
σκευῆς οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἔτι προσίετο, μόνῳ δὲ Ἀλε-

[1] ἐπιπεσὼν Dindorf; ἐπιμένων RX; ὑπομένων F; ἐπιθέμενος Fischer.

---

[1] The same figure is given in Curtius, 6. 5. 6-10, and Arrian, 3. 23. 8-9; 24. 5.
[2] Curtius, 6. 5. 11-17; Arrian, 3. 24. 1-3.
[3] The famous Bucephalus.

kindly and gained wide repute for fair dealing; for 329/8 B.C.
instance, the Greeks who had served with Dareius, one thousand five hundred in number, and accomplished soldiers, also promptly turned themselves over to Alexander, and receiving a full pardon for their previous hostility were assigned to units of his army on the same pay scale as the rest.[1]

Alexander followed the coastline to the west and entered the country of the people known as Mardians.[2] They prided themselves on their fighting ability and thinking little of Alexander's growth in power sent him no petition or mark of honour, but held the passes with eight thousand soldiers and confidently awaited the Macedonian approach. The king attacked them and joining battle killed most of them and drove the rest into the fastnesses of the mountains.

As he was wasting the countryside with fire and the pages who led the royal horses were at a little distance from the king, some of the natives made a sudden rush and carried off the best one of them.[3] This animal had come to Alexander as a gift from Demaratus of Corinth [4] and had carried the king in all of his battles in Asia. So long as he was not caparisoned, he would permit only the groom to mount him, but when he had received the royal trappings, he would no longer allow even him, but for Alexander

[4] Not otherwise mentioned by Diodorus, Demaratus was of some fame. He had served in Sicily with Timoleon, and although no longer young, accompanied Alexander to Asia, fought at the Granicus, and died shortly before Alexander's Indian campaign (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 253). Plutarch, *Alexander*, 9. 6, mentions Demaratus as one of Philip's advisers, but says (6. 1) that Bucephalus was given to Alexander by Philoneicus the Thessalian.

ξάνδρῳ παρίστατο καὶ συγκαθίει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν
7 ἀνάβασιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ζῴου
δυσφορήσας τὴν μὲν χώραν δενδροτομεῖν προσέταξε,
διὰ δὲ τῶν ὁμοφώνων τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις κηρύττειν ὡς
ἂν μὴ τὸν ἵππον ἀποδῶσι,[1] τήν τε χώραν εἰς τέλος
ὄψονται κατεφθαρμένην τούς τ' ἐνοικοῦντας παν-
8 δημεὶ κατεσφαγμένους. τῶν δ' ἀπειλῶν ὀξέως
ἐπιτελουμένων καταπλαγέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν
ἵππον ἀποκατέστησαν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πολυτελέ-
στατα δῶρα προσεκόμισαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ
πεντήκοντ' ἄνδρας ἀπέστειλαν, δεόμενοι τυχεῖν συγ-
γνώμης. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν ἀξιολογωτά-
τους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβεν ὁμήρους.

77. Ἐπανελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ἧκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, ὄνομα μὲν Θάλληστρις,[2] βασιλεύουσα δὲ τῆς μεταξὺ τοῦ Φάσιδος καὶ Θερμώδοντος χώρας. ἦν δὲ τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ διαφέρουσα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι θαυμαζομένη κατ' ἀνδρείαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ὑρκανίας ἀπολελοιπυῖα, μετὰ δὲ

[1] εἰ μὴ . . . ἀποδώσειεν F. [2] Θάληστρις F.

---

[1] Curtius, 6. 5. 18-21; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 44; Arrian, 5. 19. 4-6 (told as an anecdote at the time of the animal's death).

[2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 46. 1, has been generally taken to mean that the queen of the Amazons visited Alexander north of the Jaxartes, in spite of the considerations that this was an odd place for Alexander to linger, and a very long way from the traditional home of the Amazons. This is certainly wrong. In sect. 44, Alexander was in Hyrcania, and lost and recovered his horse. In sect. 45, Alexander advanced into

alone stood quietly and even lowered his body to 329/8 B.C.
assist in the mounting. Because of the superior qualities of this animal the king was infuriated at his loss and ordered that every tree in the land be felled, while he proclaimed to the natives through interpreters that if the horse were not returned, they should see the country laid waste to its furthest limit and its inhabitants slaughtered to a man. As he began immediately to carry out these threats, the natives were terrified and returned the horse and sent with it their costliest gifts. They sent also fifty men to beg forgiveness. Alexander took the most important of these as hostages.[1]

77. When Alexander returned to Hyrcania,[2] there came to him the queen of the Amazons named Thallestris, who ruled all the country between the rivers Phasis and Thermodon. She was remarkable for beauty and for bodily strength, and was admired by her countrywomen for bravery. She had left the bulk of her army on the frontier of Hyrcania[3] and had

Parthia, and experimented with Median dress. In sect. 46, the Amazons came. Sect. 47 deals again with his Medizing, and sect. 48 with the conspiracy exposed at Prophthasia in Drangianê. That is to say, Plutarch's narrative follows the actual route of Alexander, and the word "here" with which sect. 46 begins must mean Parthia. The reference to Alexander's flying expedition across the Jaxartes at the end of sect. 45, which has misled scholars, is a parenthesis, illustrating Alexander's indifference to physical discomfort.

[3] If we are to accept that Thallestris and her Amazons existed and had heard of Alexander, there is no insuperable difficulty in supposing that they proceeded from Thermodon on the Black Sea through the valleys of the Phasis and Cyrus Rivers and along the coast of the Caspian Sea. They would have passed through the recently subdued country of the Mardi and overtaken Alexander in Hyrcania (or Parthia, as Plutarch). Cp. Strabo, 11. 5. 4.

τριακοσίων Ἀμαζονίδων κεκοσμημένων πολεμικοῖς
2 ὅπλοις παραγενομένη.[1] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως θαυμά-
ζοντος τό τε παράδοξον τῆς παρουσίας καὶ τὸ
ἀξίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν Θάλληστριν ἐρομένου
τίνα χρείαν ἔχουσα πάρεστιν, ἀπεφαίνετο παιδο-
3 ποιίας ἕνεκεν ἥκειν. ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἁπάντων
ἀνδρῶν διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἄριστον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὴν δὲ
τῶν γυναικῶν ἀλκῇ τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέρειν· εἰκὸς
οὖν τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐκ δυεῖν γονέων πρωτευόντων ὑπερ-
έξειν ἀρετῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ πέρας
ἡσθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὴν ἔντευξιν
αὐτῆς καὶ συμπεριενεχθεὶς ἡμέρας τρεισκαίδεκα
τιμήσας τε ἀξιολόγοις δώροις ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν
οἰκείαν.
4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δόξας ἤδη κεκρατηκέναι τῆς ἐπι-
βολῆς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀδήριτον ἔχειν ἤρξατο
ζηλοῦν τὴν Περσικὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν
τῶν Ἀσιανῶν Βασιλέων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τὴν
αὐλὴν εἶχε ῥαβδούχους Ἀσιαγενεῖς, ἔπειτα τοὺς
ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν δορυφορεῖν ἔταξεν, ἐν
5 οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Δαρείου ἀδελφὸς Ὀξάθρης. εἶτα τό
τε Περσικὸν διάδημα περιέθετο καὶ τὸν διάλευκον
ἐνεδύσατο χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ
τἆλλα πλὴν τῶν ἀναξυρίδων καὶ τοῦ κάνδυος.

[1] παραγεγενημένη F.

[1] This Amazon visit was a part of the Alexander tradition which Diodorus followed; cp. Curtius, 6. 5. 24-32, and Justin, 12. 3. 5-7, both of whom give also the length of the queen's stay as thirteen days. (Justin explains, "ut est visa uterum implesse.") Arrian mentions Amazons only in other contexts (4. 15. 4; 7. 13. 2-6) and expresses the doubt that any still existed—especially since they were not mentioned

arrived with an escort of three hundred Amazons in full armour. The king marvelled at the unexpected arrival and the dignity of the women. When he asked Thallestris why she had come, she replied that it was for the purpose of getting a child. He had shown himself the greatest of all men in his achievements, and she was superior to all women in strength and courage, so that presumably the offspring of such outstanding parents would surpass all other mortals in excellence. At this the king was delighted and granted her request and consorted with her for thirteen days, after which he honoured her with fine gifts and sent her home.[1] 329/8 B.C.

It seemed to Alexander that he had accomplished his objective and now held his kingdom without contest, and he began to imitate the Persian luxury and the extravagant display of the kings of Asia.[2] First he installed ushers of Asiatic race in his court, and then he ordered the most distinguished persons to act as his guards; among these was Dareius's brother Oxathres.[3] Then he put on the Persian diadem [4] and dressed himself in the white robe and the Persian sash and everything else except the trousers and the

by Aristobulus or Ptolemy. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 46. 1, gives a full list of authorities in favour of or opposed to the visit, but doubts the story (46. 2) because it is poorly attested, not because Amazons did not exist. Disbelief in Amazons as such is a modern phenomenon.

[2] Curtius, 6. 6. 1-11; Justin, 12. 3. 8-12; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 45. 47.

[3] He had distinguished himself at Issus (chap. 34. 2) and gone over to Alexander after Dareius's death (Curtius, 6. 2. 11; Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 586).

[4] The Great Kings wore an upright tiara with a fillet about it; Alexander and the Hellenistic kings wore typically the fillet alone.

διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις περιπορφύρους στολὰς
6 καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις Περσικὰς σκευὰς περιέθηκε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς παλλακίδας ὁμοίως τῷ Δαρείῳ περιήγετο,[1] τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν οὔσας οὐκ ἐλάττους πλήθει τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν, κάλλει δὲ διαπρεπεῖς ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
7 γυναικῶν ἐπιλελεγμένας. αὗται δὲ ἑκάστης νυκτὸς περιῄεσαν τὴν κλίνην τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὴν ἐκλογὴν αὐτὸς ποιήσηται τῆς μελλούσης αὐτῷ συνεῖναι.[2] τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος σπανίως ἐχρῆτο, τοῖς δὲ προϋπάρχουσι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνδιέτριβε, φοβούμενος τὸ προσκόπτειν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν.

78. Ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μεμψιμοιρούντων τούτους μὲν ταῖς δωρεαῖς ἐθεράπευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Ἀρείας σατράπην[3] Σατιβαρζάνην ἀνῃρηκέναι μὲν τοὺς καταλελειμμένους[4] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας, συμφρονεῖν δὲ Βήσσῳ καὶ κεκρικέναι μετ' αὐτοῦ διαπολεμεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Σατιβαρζάνης[5] τὴν μὲν δύναμιν

[1] περιῆγε codd.; corrected by Hertlein.
[2] συνιέναι codd.; corrected by Schaefer.
[3] The text of Reiske; τὸν μὲν Δαρείου σατράπην RX; τὸν ἐν Δαρείας σατράπην F.
[4] καταλελεγμένους RX; κατελεγμένους F; corrected by Wesseling.
[5] Σατιβαρσάνης F.

---

[1] Curtius, 6. 6. 4; Justin, 12. 3. 8; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 45. 1-2. Plutarch (*De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 8. 329 F—330 A) praises Alexander for conciliating his subjects in this way.
[2] Curtius, 3. 3. 24; 6. 6. 8; Justin, 12. 3. 10. This retinue

long-sleeved upper garment.[1] He distributed to his 329/8 B.C.
companions cloaks with purple borders and dressed the horses in Persian harness. In addition to all this, he added concubines to his retinue in the manner of Dareius, in number not less than the days of the year and outstanding in beauty as selected from all the women of Asia. Each night these paraded about the couch of the king so that he might select the one with whom he would lie that night.[2] Alexander, as a matter of fact, employed these customs rather sparingly and kept for the most part to his accustomed routine, not wishing to offend the Macedonians.

78. Many, it is true, did reproach him for these things, but he silenced them with gifts. At this juncture he learned that the satrap of Areia, Satibarzanes, had put to death the soldiers who were left with him,[3] had made common cause with Bessus and with him had decided to attack the Macedonians, so Alexander set out against the man. This Satibarzanes had brought his forces into Chortacana,[4]

of concubines was part of the traditional ceremonial of the Persian court. Solomon had a similar establishment (1 Kings 4), including a harem (1 Kings 11. 3). There were three hundred and sixty of them, according to Ctesias (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 27), but three hundred and sixty-five in the Alexander tradition (Curtius, *l.c.*). Modern scholars are not inclined to accept this statement as true, but Alexander's army notoriously did not travel light, and if he had placed his court under a Persian chamberlain, that official would doubtless have attempted to equip it in the proper fashion. Cp. the many anecdotes of Alexander's luxury in Athenaeus, 12. 537-540 (and of Dareius, *idem*, 13. 557 b).
[3] Satibarzanes had been one of the murderers of Dareius, but, after defeating him, Alexander had confirmed him in his satrapy, leaving a small force of Macedonians with him to ensure his good behaviour (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 697).
[4] The city is usually called Artacoana.

ἤθροισεν εἰς Χορτάκανα, πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις καὶ φυσικῇ διαφέρουσαν
2 ὀχυρότητι, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐγγίσαντος κατεπλάγη τό τε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὰς διαβεβοημένας τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνδραγαθίας. διόπερ αὐτὸς μὲν μετὰ δισχιλίων ἱππέων ἐξίππευσε πρὸς Βῆσσον, παρακαλέσων βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παρήγγειλε καταφυγεῖν εἰς ὄρος καλούμενον[1] . . . , ἔχον πολλὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ καταφυγὰς[2] εὐθέτους
3 τοῖς μὴ τολμῶσι κατὰ στόμα διακινδυνεύειν. ὧν πραξάντων τὸ παραγγελθὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ συνήθει φιλοτιμίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας εἴς τινα πέτραν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πολιορκήσας ἐν-
4 εργῶς ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτοὺς παραδοῦναι.[3] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν σατραπείαν ταύτην πόλεις ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις κατακτησάμενος προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ὑρκανίας καὶ διανύσας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Δραγγινῆς ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς περιέπεσε πράξει μοχθηρᾷ καὶ τῆς ἰδίας χρηστότητος ἀλ-

[1] There is clearly a lacuna here, but Fischer's restoration Βαγῶον, from Ptolemy, vi. 17, does not fit the geographical situation (cp. note 6 on the opposite page), and is otherwise entirely conjectural.

[2] καταφυγὰς Cobet; φυγὰς codd., which is possible but unlikely.

[3] προδοῦναι RX.

[1] Curtius, 6. 6. 22.

a notable city of that region and one of great natural strength, but as the king approached, he became alarmed at the size of the latter's forces and at the fighting reputation of the Macedonians. He himself with two thousand horsemen [1] rode off to the protection of Bessus, asking him to send help with all speed, but told his other followers to take refuge in a mountain called . . .,[2] which afforded difficult terrain and a secure refuge for those who did not dare to meet their enemies face to face. After they had done so, and had secured themselves upon a steep and high "rock,"[3] the king with his accustomed spirit invested the place, attacked them vigorously, and compelled them to surrender. In the course of thirty days thereafter, he brought into submission all the cities of the satrapy.[4] Then he left Hyrcania and marched to the capital of Dranginê,[5] where he paused and rested his army.[6] 329/8 B.C.

79. At this same time, Alexander stumbled into a base action which was quite foreign to his goodness

[2] It is futile to guess what name is missing in the manuscripts.

[3] The same term occurs in Curtius, 6. 6. 23-26. Cp. on chap. 28, p. 195, note 5.

[4] Curtius, 6. 6. 13-36; Arrian, 3. 25. 1-7.

[5] Arrian (3. 25. 8) calls these people "Zarangaioi." The usual term is Drangianê.

[6] Diodorus has compressed the movements involved in this operation. Alexander had left Hyrcania and passed through Parthia and Aria, where he left Satibarzanes as satrap. He advanced east toward Bactria. At the revolt of Satibarzanes, he returned to Aria; the satrap in his flight must have passed Alexander going in the opposite direction. He can have encountered Satibarzanes's foot troops in the mountains east of Artacoana and not have proceeded to that city. Finally, after thirty days, he turned south into Drangianê, abandoning his original route.

λοτρίᾳ. τῶν γὰρ φίλων τις τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα Δίμνος, μεμψιμοιρήσας τῷ βασιλεῖ περί τινων καὶ τῷ θυμῷ προπεσών, ἐπιβουλὴν συνεστήσατο κατ'
2 αὐτοῦ. ἔχων δ' ἐρώμενον Νικόμαχον τοῦτον ἔπεισε κοινωῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. οὗτος δὲ νέος ὢν παντελῶς ἀνεκοινώσατο τὴν πρᾶξιν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κεβαλίνῳ. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ φθάσῃ τις τῶν συνειδότων καὶ δηλώσῃ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτὸς ἔκρινε μηνῦσαι.

3 Παρελθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ συντυχὼν Φιλώτᾳ καὶ διαλεχθεὶς παρεκελεύετο τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς εἴτε καὶ διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν τὸν ῥηθέντα λόγον ἀργῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ παρελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πολλῆς καὶ παντοδαπῆς κοινολογίας μετασχὼν οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ
4 Κεβαλίνου ῥηθέντων ἀπήγγειλεν. ἐξελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κεβαλῖνον εἶπεν ὅτι καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον οὐκ ἔσχε διασαφῆσαι, ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συντεύξεσθαι μόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πάντα δηλώσειν τὰ ῥηθέντα. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πράξαντος τοῦ Φιλώτου καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κεβαλῖνος, εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ δι' ἑτέρου μηνύσεως γενομένης αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσῃ, τὸν μὲν Φιλώταν παρέπεμψε, τῶν τε βασιλικῶν τινι παίδων προσελθὼν καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀπαγγείλας ἠξίωσε τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

of nature.[1] One of the king's Friends named Dimnus[2] found fault with him for some reason, and in a rash fit of anger formed a plot against him. He had a beloved named Nicomachus and persuaded him to take part in it. Being very young, the boy disclosed the plan to his brother Cebalinus,[3] who, however, was terrified lest one of the conspirators should get ahead of the rest in revealing the plot to the king, and decided himself to be the informer. 329/8 B.C.

He went to the court, met Philotas and talked with him, and urged him to tell the whole story to the king as quickly as he could. It may be that Philotas was actually a party to the plot[4]; he may merely have been slow to act. At all events, he heard Cebalinus with indifference, and although he visited Alexander and took part in a long conversation on a variety of subjects, said no word about what had just been told him. When he returned to Cebalinus, he said that he had not found a suitable occasion to mention it, but would surely see the king alone the next day and tell him everything. Philotas did the same thing on the next day also, and Cebalinus, to insure himself against someone else betraying the plot and putting him in danger, dropped Philotas and accosted one of the royal pages, telling him all that had happened and begging him to report it to the king immediately.

[1] For the story of the conspiracy and its consequences cp. Curtius, 6. 7–7. 2. 34; Justin, 12. 5. 1-3; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 48–49. 7; Arrian, 3. 26.

[2] The name is given by Curtius as Dymnus, by Plutarch as Limnus.

[3] In Curtius and Plutarch, Nicomachus did not approve of the plot and assisted in exposing it. Here also, both Cebalinus and Nicomachus seem not to have been punished.

[4] Plutarch also; cp. also *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 2. 7. 339 E-F.

5 Ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν Κεβαλῖνον εἰς τὴν ὁπλοθήκην εἰσ-
αγαγὼν ἀπέκρυψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεταξὺ
λουομένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ῥηθέντα καὶ
διότι τὸν Κεβαλῖνον παρ' ἑαυτῷ φυλάττει. ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς τόν τε Δίμνον συνέλαβε
καὶ μαθὼν ἅπαντα μετεπέμψατο τόν τε Κεβαλῖνον
6 καὶ τὸν Φιλώταν. ἀνακρινομένων δ' ἁπάντων καὶ
τῆς πράξεως ἐξεταζομένης ὁ μὲν Δίμνος ἑαυτὸν
κατέσφαξε, τοῦ δὲ Φιλώτου ῥᾳθυμίαν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ
προσομολογήσαντος, τὴν δ' ἐπιβουλὴν ἀπαρνου-
μένου τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
ἐπέτρεψεν.

80. Πολλῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων λόγων οἱ Μακεδόνες
κατέγνωσαν τοῦ Φιλώτου καὶ τῶν καταιτιαθέντων
θάνατον· ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε Παρμενίων ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι
δοκῶν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων, τότε δὲ οὐ παρών,
ἀλλὰ δόξας διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ Φιλώτου πεποιῆσθαι
2 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας, βασανισθεὶς
πρότερον καὶ ὁμολογήσας τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κατὰ τὸ
τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔθος μετὰ τῶν συγκαταγνωσθέν-
των ἐθανατώθη.

Ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Λυγκιστὴς Ἀλέξανδρος, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τριετῆ μὲν χρόνον ἐν φυλακῇ τηρούμενος διετέλεσε, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον οἰκειότητα τετευχὼς ἀναβολῆς, τότε δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων κρίσιν παραχθεὶς

The page brought Cebalinus into the armoury and hid him there,[1] went on in to the king as he was bathing and told him the story, adding that he had Cebalinus concealed in the vicinity. The king's reaction was sharp. He arrested Dimnus at once and learned everything from him; then he sent for Cebalinus and Philotas. The whole story was investigated and the fact established. Dimnus stabbed himself on the spot,[2] but Philotas, while acknowledging his carelessness, nevertheless denied that he had had any part in the plot and agreed to leave judgement concerning him to the Macedonians. 329/8 B.C.

80. After many arguments had been heard, the Macedonians condemned Philotas and the other accused persons to death. Among these was Parmenion, he who seemed to be the first of Alexander's Friends; he was not with the army, but it was thought that he had contrived the conspiracy by means of his son Philotas. Philotas, then, was first tortured and confessed to the plot, and then was killed in the Macedonian manner with the other condemned persons.[3]

This was the occasion for bringing up the case of Alexander the Lyncestian. He was charged with the crime of plotting against the king and had been kept for three years under guard. He had been delayed a hearing because of his relationship to Antigonus, but now he was brought before the court of the

[1] The page, whose name is given by Curtius as Metron, happened to be in charge of Alexander's weapons.

[2] Others report that Dimnus killed himself (Curtius, 6. 7. 29-30) or was killed resisting capture (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 49. 4).

[3] Either by being stoned (Curtius, 6. 11. 10, 38) or by being pierced with javelins (Arrian, 3. 26. 3).

καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀπορηθεὶς λόγων ἐθανατώθη.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμψας τινὰς ἐπὶ δρομάδων καμήλων καὶ φθάσας τὴν φήμην τῆς περὶ τὸν Φιλώταν τιμωρίας τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Φιλώτου Παρμενίωνα ἐδολοφόνησε, τεταγμένον μὲν τῆς Μηδείας ἄρχοντα, πεπιστευμένον δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, ἔχοντας ταλάντων ὀκτωκαί-
4 δεκα μυριάδας. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων τοὺς ἀλλοτρίας κατ' αὐτοῦ προϊεμένους φωνὰς καὶ τοὺς ἠγανακτηκότας ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος θανάτῳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀποσταλείσαις εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστολαῖς ἀλλότριόν τι γεγραφότας τοῖς οἰκείοις περὶ τῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφερόντων εἰς ἓν κατέλεξε σύστημα καὶ προσηγόρευσεν ἀτάκτων τάγμα, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὰς τούτων ἀκαίρους φωνὰς καὶ παρρησίας τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Μακεδόνων συνδιαφθείρηται.

81. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Δραγγινὴν καταστήσας ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς πρότερον μὲν Ἀριμασπούς, νῦν δ' Εὐεργέτας ὀνομαζομένους διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Κῦρος ὁ τὴν Μήδων ἀρχὴν μεταστήσας εἰς Πέρσας ἔν τινι στρατείᾳ περιληφθεὶς ἐν ἐρήμῳ χώρᾳ καὶ πάσῃ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους,[1] διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῆς τροφῆς

[1] ἦλθε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπέστη F.

[1] The arrest of Alexander was mentioned above (chap. 32. 1). If the throne were vacant, he would have been the logical person to become king, so that his continued existence involved King Alexander in a certain risk. His wife was one of

Macedonians and was put to death, lacking words to defend himself.[1] 329/8 B.C.

Alexander dispatched riders on racing camels, who travelled faster than the report of Philotas's punishment and murdered his father Parmenion.[2] He had been appointed governor of Media and was in charge of the royal treasures in Ecbatana, amounting to one hundred and eighty thousand talents. Alexander selected from among the Macedonians those who made remarks hostile to him and those who were distressed at the death of Parmenion, as well as those who wrote in letters sent home to Macedonia to their relatives anything contrary to the king's interests. These he assembled into one unit which he called the Disciplinary Company, so that the rest of the Macedonians might not be corrupted by their improper remarks and criticism.[3]

81. After his hands were free of this affair and he had settled things in Dranginê, Alexander marched with his army against a people who used to be called Arimaspians but are now known as Benefactors for the following reason. That Cyrus who had transferred the rule from the Medes to the Persians was once engaged in a campaign in the desert and running out of provisions was brought into extreme danger, so that

the many daughters of Antipater (Curtius, 7. 1. 7), but his relationship to Antigonus is unknown. The latter was King Alexander's representative in Phrygia, but it is likely that his name is a mistake for Antipater's, since Alexander Lyncestes was his son-in-law (Curtius, 7. 1. 7; Justin, 11. 7. 1).

[2] Polydamas and two Arab guides (Curtius, 7. 2. 17-18). They made the thirty-days' trip in eleven days (Strabo, 15. 2. 10).

[3] Curtius, 7. 2. 35-38; Justin, 12. 5. 4-8. This name, the "Company of the Undisciplined," is not otherwise reported. The term could be translated also "Unassigned."

ἀναγκαζομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλήλους σαρκοφαγεῖν, τῶν δ' Ἀριμασπῶν τρισμυρίας ἁμάξας σίτου γεμούσας παρακομισάντων σωθεὶς παραδόξως ἀτελείαις τε καὶ ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν προσηγορίαν ἀφελόμενος
2 προσηγόρευσεν Εὐεργέτας. τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν τούτων χώραν στρατεύσας[1] καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένων ἐτίμησε τὸ ἔθνος ταῖς ἁρμοζούσαις δωρεαῖς.

Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Κεδρωσίων ποιησάντων καὶ τούτους ταῖς πρεπούσαις χάρισιν ἠμείψατο. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐθνῶν τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιριδάτῃ παρέδωκεν.
3 περὶ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἧκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι Σατιβαρζάνης ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἱππικῆς παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἀρίων[2] ἔθνος ἀπέστησε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήσας Ἐριγυιὸν καὶ Στασάνορα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν καταστρεψάμενος ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὑπήκοον ἐποίησεν.

82. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχεν Εὐθύκριτος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Λεύκιος Πλάτιος καὶ Λεύκιος Παπίριος, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη τρίτη πρὸς ταῖς

[1] στρατοπεδεύσας X.

for lack of food the soldiers were constrained to eat 329/8 B.C.
each other, when the Arimaspians appeared bringing thirty thousand wagons laden with provisions. Saved from utter despair, then, Cyrus gave them exemption from taxation and other marks of honour, and abolishing their former appellation, named them Benefactors. So now, when Alexander led his army into their country, they received him kindly and he honoured the tribe with suitable gifts.[1]

Their neighbours, the so-called Cedrosians,[2] did the same, and them too he rewarded with appropriate favours. He gave the administration of these two peoples to Tiridates.[3] While he was thus occupied reports were brought to him that Satibarzanes had returned from Bactria with a large force of cavalry to Areia, and had caused the population to revolt from Alexander. At this news, the king dispatched against him a portion of his army under the command of Erigyius and Stasanor, while he himself conquered Arachosia and in a few days made it subject to him.[4]

82. When this year was over, Euthycritus became 328/7 B.C.
archon at Athens and at Rome Lucius Platius and Lucius Papirius became consuls. The one hundred

[1] Curtius, 7. 3. 3; Arrian, 3. 27. 4-5.

[2] These are usually called Gedrosians.

[3] Arrian (3. 27. 5) reports that these tribes were left independent; it may be that this Tiridates was a native of the country (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 755). Menon became satrap of Gedrosia and Arachosia (Arrian, 3. 28. 1) or of Arachosia alone (Curtius, 7. 3. 5).

[4] Curtius, 7. 3. 2; Arrian, 3. 28. 2-3. They both report that the Macedonian troops were commanded by Erigyius and Caranus, but that Stasanor took over the satrapy in place of the revolted satrap Arsames.

---

[2] The district is spelled Ἀρεία in chap. 78. 1.

ἑκατὸν δέκα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστρά-
2 τευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Παροπανισάδας. ἡ
δὲ τούτων χώρα κεῖται μὲν ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἄρκτους,
χιονοβολεῖται δὲ πᾶσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι δυσ-
επίβατός ἐστι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ ψύχους. ἡ
πλείστη δὲ πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ ἄξυλος πολλαῖς κώμαις
3 διείληπται. αὗται δὲ τὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν στέγας ἔχου-
σιν ἐκ πλίνθων εἰς ὀξὺ συνηγμένων ἐχούσας κα-
μάραν[1]· κατὰ δὲ μέσην τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀπολελειμ-
μένης διαυγείας· διὰ ταύτης ὁ καπνὸς ἐκφέρεται
καὶ πανταχόθεν τῆς οἰκοδομίας περιεχούσης οἱ
4 κατοικοῦντες πολλῆς σκέπης τυγχάνουσιν. οἱ δ'
ἐγχώριοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος τὸ πλέον μέρος
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐνδιατρίβουσι, παρεσκευασ-
μένας ἔχοντες τὰς ἰδίας τροφάς· τὰς δ' ἀμπέλους
καὶ τὰ καρποφόρα τῶν δένδρων περιχώσαντες καὶ
τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐάσαντες πάλιν ἀναστέλ-
5 λουσι τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βλαστοῦ καιρόν. ἅπασα
δ' ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις οὔτε χλωρὰν οὔθ' ἥμερον
ἔχει πρόσοψιν, ἀλλὰ λευκὴν καὶ ἀνταυγῆ διὰ[2] τὴν
χιόνα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ πηγνύμενον κρύσταλλον.
διόπερ οὔτ' ὀρνέου προσκαθίζοντος οὔτε θηρίου

[1] This is the reading of the manuscripts, except that F gives ἐχουσῶν. The ἐχούσας seems superfluous, and συνηγμένων may well be corrected into συνηγμένην, as Hertlein.
[2] διὰ supplied by Fischer.

[1] Euthycritus was archon at Athens from July of 328 to

and thirteenth Olympic Games were held.[1] In this 323/7 B.C.
year Alexander marched against the so-called Paropanisadae, whose country lies in the extreme north; it is snow-covered and not easily approached by other tribes because of the extreme cold. The most of it is a plain and woodless, and divided up among many villages.[2] These contain houses with roofs of tile drawn up at the top into a peaked vault.[3] In the middle of each roof an aperture is left through which smoke escapes, and since the building is enclosed all around the people find ample protection against the weather. Because of the depth of the snow, they spend the most of the year indoors, having their own supplies at hand. They heap up soil about vines and fruit trees, and leave it so for the winter season, removing the earth again at the time of budding. The landscape nowhere shows any verdure or cultivation; all is white and dazzling because of the snow and the ice which form in it. No bird, therefore, alights there nor does any animal pass,

June of 327 B.C. The Roman consuls of 330 B.C. were L. Papirius Crassus and L. Plautius Venno (Broughton, 1. 143). The Olympic Games were those of July 328. Diodorus neglected to name the winner of the foot race, who was Cliton of Macedonia, according to Eusebius, *Chronikon*. By now, Diodorus's chronology is seriously off; it can have been no later than the autumn of 330 B.C., "at the setting of the Pleiades" (Strabo, 15. 2. 10).

[2] Curtius, 7. 3. 5-18; Justin, 12. 5. 9; Arrian, 3. 28. 4-7. This country is the highland of Afghanistan, cold in the winter, but neither in the north nor a plain. According to Aristobulus (Arrian, 3. 28. 6), nothing grew there except terebinth and asafoetida.

[3] Curtius's description of these buildings (7. 3. 8-9) is clearer. He compares the roofs to the keels of ships. The houses were partly underground (Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 2. 9. 340 E).

διοδεύοντος ἄξενα καὶ ἀνεπίβατα πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς χώρας ὑπῆρχεν.

6 Ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτων ἁπάντων ἀντιπραττόντων τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ συνήθει τόλμῃ καὶ καρτερίᾳ τῶν Μακεδόνων περιεγίνετο τῆς τοπικῆς

7 δυστραπελείας. διὸ δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς τάξεως συνακολουθούντων ἐξαδυνατοῦντες ἀπελείποντο· ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς χιόνος ἀνταύγειαν καὶ σκληρότητα τῆς ἀναβαλλομένης ἀνα-

8 κλάσεως ἐφθείροντο τὴν ὅρασιν.[1] σαφὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἐκ διαστήματος ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ καπνῷ δηλουμένων τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗ κατοικοῦσιν ἐφιστάμενοι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν κωμῶν ἁλισκομένων, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῷ πλήθει τῆς ὠφελείας διορθουμένων τὴν κακοπάθειαν ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκυρίευσεν.

83. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθὼν πλησίον τοῦ Καυκάσου κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ὅ τινες Παροπάνισον ὄρος προσαγορεύουσι. τὸ δ' ὄρος τοῦτο κατὰ πλάτος διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις ἑκκαίδεκα πόλιν ἔκτισε κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἣν ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν Καύκασον ἔστι πέτρα δέκα σταδίων ἔχουσα τὴν περίμετρον, τεττάρων δὲ σταδίων τὸ ὕψος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ Προμηθέως σπήλαιον ἐδείκνυθ' ὑπὸ τῶν

[1] τὴν ὅρασιν added by Fischer. The sense seems to require it.

and all parts of the country are unvisited and inaccessible.[1] 328/7 B.C.

The king, nevertheless, in spite of all those obstacles confronting the army, exercised the customary boldness and hardihood of the Macedonians and surmounted the difficulties of the region. Many of the soldiers and of the camp followers became exhausted and were left behind. Some too because of the glare of the snow and the hard brilliance of the reflected light lost their sight. Nothing could be seen clearly from a distance. It was only as the villages were revealed by their smoke that the Macedonians discovered where the dwellings were, even when they were standing right on top of them. By this method the villages were taken and the soldiers recovered from their hardships amidst a plenty of provisions. Before long the king made himself master of all the population.[2]

83. Now in his advance Alexander encamped near the Caucasus, which some call Mt. Paropanisum.[3] In sixteen days he marched across this range from side to side, and founded a city in the pass which leads down to Media,[4] calling it Alexandria. In the midst of the Caucasus there is a "rock"[5] ten furlongs in perimeter and four furlongs in height, in which the cave of Prometheus was pointed out by the natives,

[1] Curtius, also (7. 3. 10-11), mentions burying the plants to protect them and the absence of animals and birds.

[2] Alexander wintered there in 330/29 (Strabo, 15. 2. 10).

[3] Curtius, 7. 3. 19-23; Arrian, 3. 28. 4. The Hindu Kush, which the ancients tended to confuse with the Caucasus (Arrian, 5. 3. 1-4; Strabo, 11. 5. 5).

[4] This is clearly a mistake, perhaps a scribal mistake, for India, and editors since Reiske have tended to correct the text accordingly. The city was known as Alexandria of the Caucasus.

[5] Cp. the note on chap. 28, p. 195, note 5.

ἐγχωρίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ μυθολογηθέντος ἀετοῦ κοίτη καὶ τὰ τῶν δεσμῶν σημεῖα.

2 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἔκτισεν, ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπεχούσας[1] τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. κατῴκισε δ' εἰς ταύτας τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἑπτακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς τάξεως[2] συνακολουθούντων τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς βουλομένους.

3 αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγεν εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, ἀκούων[3] τὸν Βῆσσον διάδημά τε ἀνειληφέναι καὶ δυνάμεις ἀθροίζειν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

4 Οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀρίαν[4] ἀπεσταλμένοι στρατηγοὶ καταλαβόντες τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους ἠθροικότας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔχοντας Σατιβαρζάνην, ἄνδρα στρατηγικὸν[5] καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέροντα, κατεστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων. γινομένων δὲ πολλάκις ἀκροβολισμῶν μέχρι μέν τινος

5 μάχαι κατ' ὀλίγους ἐγίνοντο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρατάξεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσόμαχον ποιούντων τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν στρατηγὸς Σατιβαρζάνης, ἀφελὼν ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κράνος καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν ὃς ἦν, προεκαλέσατο τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν στρατηγῶν μονομαχῆσαι.

6 ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐριγυιοῦ καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἡρωικῆς συνέβη νικῆσαι τὸν Ἐριγυιόν. οἱ

[1] F gives the singular (ἄλλην πόλιν, ἀπέχουσαν) but immediately below we have the plural (ταύτας).

[2] τάξεων RX, but Diodorus ordinarily uses the singular. There was an ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἔξω τάξεων in Ptolemaic Egypt.

[3] Βακτρίαν οὗ ἦν ἀκούων F.

[4] Spelled Ἀρεία in chap. 78. 1.

[5] στρατηγίᾳ F.

as well as the nesting place of the eagle in the story and the marks of the chains.[1] 328/7 B.C.

Alexander founded other cities also at the distance of a day's march from Alexandria. Here he settled seven thousand natives, three thousand of the camp followers, and volunteers from among the mercenaries.[2] Then he marched his forces into Bactria, since news came that Bessus had assumed the diadem and was enrolling an army.

Such was the state of Alexander's affairs.

The generals who had been sent back to Areia found that the rebels had gathered substantial forces under the command of Satibarzanes, who was distinguished both for generalship and for personal bravery, and they encamped near them.[3] There was constant skirmishing for a time, and numerous small engagements; then it came to a general battle. The Iranians were holding their own when their general Satibarzanes raised his hands and removed his helmet so that all could see who he was, and challenged any of the Macedonian generals who wished to fight with him alone. Erigyius accepted and a contest of heroic nature ensued, which resulted in Erigyius's victory.

[1] Curtius, 7. 3. 22. The story was rejected by Eratosthenes (Strabo, 11. 5. 5; Arrian, 5. 3. 1-4).

[2] These cities are not otherwise mentioned. They may have been outlying forts or fortified villages. It is interesting that they received no Macedonian settlers. Arrian's descriptions (*e.g.*, 4. 4. 1) of similar settlements show the same pattern of population. Curtius (7. 3. 23) assigns these seven thousand to Alexandria of the Caucasus.

[3] Continued from chap. 81. 3. Curtius, also, breaks his narrative of the revolt, and describes its conclusion and the duel between the leaders after discussing Bessus's assumption of power (7. 4. 33-40). Arrian, on the other hand, tells the whole story at once (3. 28. 3).

δὲ βάρβαροι διὰ τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θάνατον καταπλαγέντες καὶ λαβόντες τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ.

7 Βῆσσος δ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναδεδειχὼς βασιλέα τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσε καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραλαβὼν εἰς τὴν εὐωχίαν κατὰ τὸν πότον διηνέχθη πρός τινα τῶν ἑταίρων, ὄνομα Βαγωδάραν. τῆς δὲ φιλοτιμίας ἐπὶ πλέον προελθούσης ὁ μὲν Βῆσσος παροξυνθεὶς[1] ἐπεβάλετο τὸν Βαγωδάραν ἀνελεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων πεισθεὶς

8 μετενόησεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκφυγὼν νυκτὸς ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. τῇ δὲ τούτου σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς δοθησομέναις ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δωρεαῖς προκληθέντες οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων συνεφρόνησαν καὶ συλλαβόντες τὸν Βῆσσον ἀπήγαγον

9 πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτους μὲν ἐτίμησεν ἀξιολόγοις δωρεαῖς, τὸν δὲ Βῆσσον παρέδωκε τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγενέσιν εἰς τιμωρίαν. οἱ δὲ πᾶσαν ὕβριν καὶ αἰκίαν προσενεγκάμενοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ λεπτὸν συγκόψαντες τὰ μέλη διεσφενδόνησαν.

* * *

84. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις γενομένων τῶν ὅρκων ἡ μὲν βασίλισσα τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου θαυμάσασα δῶρά τε κράτιστα ἐξέπεμψε καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο.

[1] παρορμηθεὶς F.

[1] Curtius, 7. 4. 1-19.

[2] Curtius names this man Gobares (as corrected from the Cobares of the manuscripts).

[3] Curtius, 7. 5. 19-26. This is the account of Aristobulus; Ptolemy's version was that he himself had captured Bessus

Disheartened at the death of their commander, the Iranians sought their safety in surrender, and gave themselves up to Alexander. 328/7 B.C.

Bessus proclaimed himself king, sacrificed to the gods, and invited his friends to a banquet.[1] In the course of the drinking, he fell into an argument with one of them, Bagodaras[2] by name. As the quarrel increased, Bessus lost his temper and proposed to put Bagodaras to death, but was persuaded by his friends to think better of it. Bagodaras, however, saved from this danger, escaped by night to Alexander. His safe reception and the gifts promised by Alexander attracted Bessus's leading generals. They banded together, seized Bessus, and carried him off to Alexander.[3] The king gave them substantial gifts, and turned Bessus over to Dareius's brother[4] and his other relatives for punishment. They inflicted upon him every humiliation and abuse, and cutting his body up into little pieces they scattered them abroad.

* * *

84. A truce was concluded on these terms, and the queen, impressed by Alexander's generosity, sent him valuable gifts and promised to follow his orders in everything.[5] 327/6 B.C.

(Arrian, 3. 29. 8–30. 5). Bessus was executed later in Ecbatana (Curtius, 7. 10. 10; Arrian, 4. 7. 3; cp. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 43. 3).

[4] Presumably the Oxathres named in chap. 77. 4.

[5] The end of Diodorus's year 328/7 and the beginning of 327/6 B.C. have been lost in a long break in the manuscript from which our text derives; it is now the autumn of 327. The Scythian, Bactrian, and Sogdian campaigns are over, with such familiar incidents as the quarrel with Cleitus, the arrest of Callisthenes in connection with the introduction of proscynesis and the Pages' Conspiracy, and the marriage with Roxanê (cp. the subject headings in the Table of Con-

Οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι παραχρῆμα κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθόντες καὶ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα προελθόντες ἀνεπικωλύτως κατεστρατοπέδευσαν,
2 οὐδεμίαν ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντες τοῦ μέλλοντος. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀμετάθετον ἔχων τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀλλοτριότητα διεσκευασμένην ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπηκολούθησε τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβόων παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβουμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν, οὐ φίλους εἶναι διὰ παντὸς Μακεδόνων.

3 Οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κινδύνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες συνεφράξαντο καὶ τὴν ὅλην τάξιν ποιήσαντες κυκλοτερῆ τά τε τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς μέσον ἀπέλαβον, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τοῖς προσμαχομένοις ἀσφαλῶς ἀντιτάττεσθαι. ἀπονοηθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀρετὴν ἰσχυρὰν μάχην συστησαμένων καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων φιλοτιμουμένων μὴ λειφθῆναι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνδραγαθίας μεγάλην κατάπλη-
4 ξιν εἶχεν ὁ κίνδυνος. ἐκ χειρὸς γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὔσης καὶ συμπλεκομένων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀλλήλοις[1] πολλαὶ καὶ παντοῖαι διαθέσεις θανάτων καὶ

[1] ἐν ἀλλήλοις F.

tents, pp. 111-113). Alexander is on his way down the Cabul valley toward India. In the city of Mazagae (Curtius, 8. 10. 22) or Massaga (Arrian, 4. 26. 1) in the country of the As-

The mercenaries straightway under the terms of the truce left the city and encamped without interference at a distance of eighty furlongs, without an inkling of what would happen.[1] Alexander, nevertheless, nursed an implacable hostility toward them ; he held his forces in readiness, followed them, and falling upon them suddenly wrought a great slaughter. At first they kept shouting that this attack was in contravention of the treaty and they called to witness the gods against whom he had transgressed. Alexander shouted back that he had granted them the right to leave the city but not that of being friends of the Macedonians forever. 327/6 B.C.

Not daunted at the greatness of their danger, the mercenaries joined ranks and, forming a full circle, placed their children and women in the centre so that they might effectively face those who were attacking from all directions. Filled with desperate courage and fighting stoutly with native toughness and the experience of previous contests, they were opposed by Macedonians anxious not to show themselves inferior to barbarians in fighting ability, so that the battle was a scene of horror. They fought hand to hand, and as the contestants engaged each other every

sacenians (modern Swat) he captured the beautiful queen Cleophis and reinstated her in her kingdom. The more romantic say that he had a son by her (Curtius, 8. 10. 22-36 ; Justin, 12. 7. 9-11).

[1] These mercenaries had been in the service of the Assacenians. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 59. 3-4) agrees with this rather discreditable account of Alexander's treatment of them. Arrian, on the other hand (4. 27. 3-4), states that Alexander killed them because they were intending to desert. This presents historians with a nice dilemma : was Diodorus's source blackening Alexander's reputation, or was Arrian's whitening it ?

τραυμάτων ἐγίνοντο· οἱ γὰρ Μακεδόνες ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀναρρήσσοντες τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων πέλτας τὰς ἀκμὰς τοῦ σιδήρου τοῖς πνεύμοσιν ἐνήρειδον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τὰς λόγχας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς ἀθρόους τοὺς πολεμίους οὐχ ἥμαρτανον, σύνεγγυς κειμένου τοῦ σκοποῦ.

5 Διὸ καὶ πολλῶν μὲν τραυματιζομένων, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ τελευτώντων αἱ γυναῖκες τὰ τῶν πεσόντων ὅπλα λαμβάνουσαι συνηγωνίζοντο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὀξύτης τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας δεινὸν ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὰς παρὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκήν. διὸ καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν καθοπλισθεῖσαι συνήσπιζον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσι, τινὲς δὲ ἄνευ ὅπλων ἐμπίπτουσαι τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς
6 πολεμίους ἐνεπόδιζον. τέλος δὲ πάντες μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀγωνισάμενοι καὶ κατακοπέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν ἔνδοξον θάνατον τῆς ἀγεννοῦς φιλοζωίας ἠλλάξαντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τόν τε ἀχρεῖον καὶ ἄνοπλον ὄχλον καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ὑπολειφθείσας ἀπάγων τοὺς ἱππεῖς συνεπέστησεν.

85. Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους ἀνελὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τὴν Ἄορνον[1] καλουμένην· εἰς γὰρ ταύτην οἱ περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἐγχωρίων διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν
2 τῆς ὀχυρότητος καταπεφεύγεισαν. λέγεται γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἡρακλέα ταύτην τὴν πέτραν ἐπιβαλόμενον[2] πολιορκεῖν ἀποστῆναι διά τινας ἐπιγενομένους σεισμοὺς μεγάλους καὶ διοσημείας. ὁ δ'

form of death and wounds was to be seen. The Macedonians thrust with their long spears through the light shields of the mercenaries and pressed the iron points on into their lungs, while they in turn flung their javelins into the close ranks of their enemies and could not miss the mark, so near was the target. 327/6 B.C.

As many were wounded and not a few killed, the women caught up the weapons of the fallen and fought beside their men, since the acuteness of the danger and the fierceness of the action forced them to be brave beyond their nature. Some of them, clad in armour, sheltered behind the same shields as their husbands, while others rushed in without armour, grasped the opposing shields, and hindered their use by the enemy. Finally, fighting women and all, they were overborne by numbers and cut down, winning a glorious death in preference to basely saving their lives at any cost. Alexander removed the feeble and unarmed together with the surviving women to another place, and put the cavalry in charge of them.

85. After he had taken a number of other cities[1] by storm and had slaughtered their defenders, he came to the " rock " called Aornus.[2] Here the surviving natives had taken refuge because of its great strength. It is said that Heracles of old thought to lay siege to this " rock " but refrained because of the occurrence of certain sharp earthquake shocks and

[1] Curtius, 8. 11. 2.
[2] For the term " rock " see above on chap. 28, p. 195, note 5. For the whole story cp. Curtius, 8. 11; Justin, 12. 7. 12-13; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 58. 3; Arrian, 4. 28. 7–30. 4. The location has been identified by Sir A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (1929), chaps. xvi-xxi.

[1] Ἄορνιν F. [2] ἐπιβαλλόμενον F.

Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος περὶ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον παρωξύνθη πολιορκῆσαι τὸ ὀχύρωμα καὶ διαμιλληθῆναι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξῃ.

3 Ἡ δὲ πέτρα τὸν μὲν περίβολον εἶχε σταδίων ἑκατόν, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἑκκαίδεκα, τὴν δ' ἐπιφάνειαν ὁμαλὴν καὶ πάντῃ περιφερῆ· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μέρος αὐτῆς προσέκλυζεν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμός, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μέρη περιείχετο φάραγξι βαθείαις καὶ
4 κρημνοῖς ἀπροσίτοις. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασκεψαμένου τὴν δυσχωρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ βίας ἅλωσιν ἀπογνόντος ἧκέν τις πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβύτης μετὰ
5 δυεῖν υἱῶν. οὗτος δ' ὢν πένης παντελῶς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐντεθραμμένος τοῖς τόποις κατῴκει μὲν ἔν τινι σπηλαίῳ τρεῖς στιβάδας[1] ἔχοντι κατὰ τὴν πέτραν ἐντετμημένας, ἐν αἷς ὁ γέρων μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἐναυλιζόμενος ἐμπειρίαν περιεπεποίητο τῶν τόπων. οὗτος οὖν προσελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτὸν δηλώσας ἐπηγγείλατο καθηγήσεσθαι διὰ τῆς δυσχωρίας καὶ ποιήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπερδέξιον γενέσθαι τῶν κατειλημμένων τὴν πέτραν βαρβάρων.

6 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπαγγειλάμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ χρησάμενος ὁδηγῷ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πάροδον τὴν εἰς τὴν πέτραν φέρουσαν κατελάβετο καὶ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἄλλης ἐξόδου συνέκλεισε τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς ἀβοήθητον πολιορκίαν· ἔπειτα τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ χώσας τὴν φάραγγα κατὰ τὴν ῥίζαν τῆς πέτρας, προσελθὼν ἐνεργῆ πολιορκίαν συνεστήσατο, συνεχῶς ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ

[1] Suidas quotes this passage, substituting the word προστιβάδας, which he glosses.

other divine signs, and this made Alexander even more eager to capture the stronghold when he heard it, and so to rival the god's reputation.[1] 327/6 B.C.

The circumference of the "rock" was one hundred furlongs, and its height sixteen. Its surface was even and circular on all sides. Its southern side was washed by the Indus River, the largest of those in India, and on the other sides it was surrounded by deep gorges and sheer cliffs. Alexander surveyed these difficulties and decided that its forcible capture was impossible, but then there came to him an old man with two sons.[2] He lived in extreme poverty and had for a long time supported himself in the region, occupying a cave in which three beds had been cut out of the rock. Here the old man camped with his sons, and had come to know the country intimately. When he appeared before the king, he told his story and offered to guide the king through the hills and bring him to a point where he would be above the people who occupied the rock.

Alexander promised him rich gifts.[3] Using the old man as a guide, he first occupied the path which led up to the rock; since there was no other egress, he had thus enclosed the defenders in a hopeless siege. Then he put many hands to work filling up the chasm at the foot of the rock, drew near to it, and mounted a vigorous attack, assaulting continuously for seven

[1] Curtius, 8. 11. 2; Justin, 12. 7. 12. The tradition is rationalized by Arrian, 4. 28. 1-2.

[2] Curtius, 8. 11. 3. Arrian (4. 29. 1) says "some of the neighbouring tribesmen."

[3] Curtius (8. 11. 4) says "eighty talents."

καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὰς προσβολὰς
7 ποιούμενος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ τὰς τῶν τόπων ὑπεροχὰς προετέρουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν τῶν προπετῶς βιαζομένων· τοῦ δὲ χώματος συντελεσθέντος καὶ τῶν ὀξυβελῶν καταπελτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων ἐπισταθέντων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῦ βασιλέως φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος ὡς οὐκ ἀποστήσεται τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ κατεπλάγησαν, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμφρόνως προϊδόμενος τὸ μέλλον ἐξέλιπεν[1] τὴν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καταλελειμμένην φυλακήν, διδοὺς ἔξοδον τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναχωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι φοβηθέντες τάς τε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρετὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον τὴν πέτραν.

86. Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς κενοῖς[2] τοῦ πολέμου καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς χωρὶς κινδύνου ἐκυρίευσε τῆς πέτρας. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὁδηγήσαντι τὰς ὡμολογημένας δωρεὰς ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

2 Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀφρίκης[3] τις Ἰνδός, ἔχων μὲν στρατιώτας δισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα,[4] διέτριβε περὶ τὸν τόπον. τοῦτον δέ τινες ἀνελόντες καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνέγκαντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας περιεποιή-
3 σαντο τὰς ἰδίας σωτηρίας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτους

[1] Probably a slip for ἀπήγαγεν or the like.
[2] καινοῖς given by a late hand in R; the expression is proverbial (Book 21. 2. 3), cp. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3. 8. 6. 1116 b 7; Curtius, 4. 13. 5; 7. 11. 25.
[3] The name is perhaps to be corrected into Αἰρίκης, as Anspach suggested, to accord with the Erices of Curtius (8. 12. 1).

days and seven nights with relays of troops.[1] At 327/6 B.C.
first the defenders had the advantage because of holding the higher ground, and they killed many of those who attacked rashly. As the embankment was finished, however, and the dart-throwing catapults and other engines were emplaced, and the king also made it evident that he would not break off the siege, the Indians were alarmed, and Alexander, craftily anticipating what would happen, removed the guard which had been left in the path, allowing those who wished to withdraw from the rock. In fear of the Macedonian fighting qualities and the king's determination, the Indians left the rock under cover of darkness.

86. So Alexander employed the false alarms of war to outgeneral the Indians and to gain possession of the "rock" without further fighting. He gave the promised reward to his guide and marched off with his army.[2]

About this time, a certain Indian named Aphrices with twenty thousand troops and fifteen elephants was encamped in the vicinity.[3] Some of his followers killed him and cut off his head and brought it to Alexander, and saved their own lives by this favour. The king took them into his service, and rounded up

[1] Arrian, 4. 29. 7–30. 1.
[2] According to Sir Aurel Stein's discoveries (p. 365, note 2), the ravine which Alexander filled up lay at the top of the ridge, so that both features of Diodorus's account, the secret path and the regular siege operations, were actually present. The third feature of the story, the deception to induce the Indians to withdraw, is less easy to explain.
[3] In Curtius (8. 12. 1) he is said to have blocked Alexander's advance.

[4] ἑπτακαίδεκα F.

τε προσηγάγετο καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλανωμένων
κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκυρίευσεν.
Αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν καὶ
καταλαβὼν τάς τε τριακοντόρους κατεσκευασμένας
καὶ τὸν πόρον ἐζευγμένον τριάκοντα μὲν ἡμέρας
ἀνέλαβε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς
συντελέσας θυσίας διεβίβασε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ
4 περιέπεσε παραδόξῳ περιπετείᾳ. Ταξίλου γὰρ τοῦ
βασιλέως προτετελευτηκότος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μῶφις
διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεπέμψατο μὲν καὶ πρό-
τερον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ διατρί-
βοντα, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀντιταττομένους τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τότε πρέσβεις
ἀποστείλας ἔφησεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν.
5 ἀπέχοντος[1] δὲ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν ὡς εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἐλέ-
φαντας κοσμήσας ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ὁ δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁρῶν προσιοῦσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν
ἐκτεταγμένην πολεμικῶς καὶ δόξας τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐπι-
βούλως πεποιῆσθαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ὅπως ἀπαρα-
σκεύοις[2] τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐπίθηται, τοῖς μὲν σαλπιγ-
κταῖς παρεκελεύσατο σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν, τοὺς
6 δὲ στρατιώτας ἐκτάξας ἀπήντα τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. ὁ δὲ
Μῶφις ὁρῶν τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὸ
γεγονὸς συλλογιζόμενος τὴν μὲν δύναμιν κατέλιπεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ὀλίγων προϊππεύσας καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν
τῶν Μακεδόνων διορθωσάμενος παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν
7 τε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἡσθεὶς δὲ ὁ

[1] ἀποσχόντος; corr. Hultzsch.
[2] ἀπαρασκεύως; corr. Stephanus.

the elephants, which were wandering about the countryside.[1] 327/6 B.C.

Alexander now advanced to the Indus River and found his thirty-oared boats in readiness and fully equipped, and the stream spanned by a floating bridge.[2] He rested his army for thirty days and offered splendid sacrifices to the gods, then moved his army across and experienced a startling fright and relief. Taxiles, the king, had died, and his son Mophis[3] had succeeded to the throne. He had sent word to Alexander earlier when he was in Sogdiana, promising to join him in a campaign against his enemies among the Indians, and now he stated through his messengers that he turned his kingdom over to him. When Alexander was still forty furlongs off, Mophis deployed his force as if for war and marched forward, his elephants gaily caparisoned, surrounded by his Friends. Alexander saw a great army in warlike array approaching and concluded at once that the Indian's promises were made in order to deceive him, so that the Macedonians might be attacked before they had time to prepare themselves. He ordered the trumpeters to sound the call to arms, and when the soldiers had found their battle stations, marched against the Indians. Mophis saw the excited activity of the Macedonians and guessed the reason. He left his army and accompanied only by a few horsemen galloped forward, corrected the misapprehension of the Macedonians, and gave himself and his army over to the king. Alexander, much relieved,

[1] Arrian (4. 30. 7-9) tells of rounding up elephants left at pasture, perhaps the same story.
[2] The work was done by Hephaestion (Curtius, 8. 12. 4) or by Hephaestion and Perdiccas (Arrian, 4. 30. 9).
[3] Called Omphis in Curtius, 8. 12. 4.

Ἀλέξανδρος τήν τε βασιλείαν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλει τούτῳ φίλῳ καὶ συμμάχῳ χρώμενος καὶ μετωνόμασεν αὐτὸν Ταξίλην.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

87. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Χρέμητος Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον καὶ Αὖλον Ποστούμιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ Ταξίλου χώρᾳ προσαναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Πῶρον τὸν τῶν πλησιοχώρων
2 Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα. οὗτος δ' εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν πεντακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ τρισχιλίους, ἅρματα δὲ πλείω τῶν χιλίων, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα. ἐπεποίητο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τῶν πλησιοχώρων βασιλέα σύμμαχον, ὃς ὠνομάζετο Ἐμβίσαρος, εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐ πολὺ λειπομένην τῆς τοῦ Πώρου.

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τετρακοσίους ἀπέχειν σταδίους ἔκρινε πρὸ τῆς τού-
4 του παρουσίας ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ Πώρῳ. ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ὁ Πῶρος πυθόμενος πλησίον εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους εὐθὺς ἐξέταξε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διεμέρισεν, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας καταπληκτικῶς κεκοσμημένους κατὰ

[1] The same story is told by Curtius, 8. 12. 4-18. The adhesion of Taxiles is briefly noted in Arrian, 5. 3. 5-6, and told in a different manner by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 59. 1-3.

[2] Chremes was archon at Athens from July 326 to June 325 B.C. The consuls of 328 B.C. are not entirely certain (Broughton 1. 145). One was C. Plautius Decianus or P. Plautius Proculus, the other P. Cornelius Scapula or P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus. No Postumius is otherwise attested at this time. According to the calculations of M. J. Fontana, *Kokalos*, 2 (1956), 42 f., the battle with Porus took place about July 326 B.C., as Diodorus dates it, while Arrian

restored his kingdom to him and thereafter held him 327/6 B.C.
as a friend and ally. He also changed his name to Taxiles.[1]

That is what happened in that year.

87. In the archonship of Chremes at Athens, the 326/5 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Publius Cornelius and Aulus Postumius.[2] In this year Alexander repaired his army in the land of Taxiles and then marched against Porus, the king of the neighbouring Indians.[3] He had more than fifty thousand infantry, about three thousand cavalry, more than a thousand chariots of war, and one hundred and thirty elephants.[4] He had enlisted the support of a second king of the neighbouring regions, whose name was Embisarus[5]; he had an army little smaller than that of Porus.

When Alexander received word that this king was four hundred furlongs away, he decided to attack Porus before the arrival of his ally. As he approached the Indians, Porus learned of his advance and deployed his forces promptly. He stationed his cavalry upon both flanks, and arranged his elephants, arrayed so as to strike terror in an opponent, in a single line

(5. 19. 3) places the battle a little earlier, in the Attic month Munichion of the year of Hegemon (April/May of 326 B.C.). He states, however, that the time was after the summer solstice (Arrian, 5. 9. 4).

[3] For the whole story cp. Curtius, 8. 13-14; Justin, 12. 8. 1-7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 60; Arrian, 5. 3. 5–19. 3. Diodorus (like Justin) omits the exciting story of Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes River.

[4] Curtius (8. 13. 6) gives Porus's strength as 30,000 foot, 300 chariots, and 85 elephants; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 62. 1) as 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Arrian (5. 15. 4) gives 4000 horse, 300 chariots, 200 elephants, and 30,000 foot.

[5] He is otherwise known as Abisares (Arrian, 5. 22. 2; Curtius, 8. 13. 1; 14. 1). Diodorus calls him by another name in chap. 90. 4 (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 2).

μέτωπον ἐν ἴσοις διαστήμασιν ἔστησεν· ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁπλίτας ἔταξεν, οἷς συντεταγμένον ἦν παραβοηθεῖν τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ διακωλύειν ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων εἰσακοντίζειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὅλη σύνταξις αὐτῶν ὑπῆρχε πόλει παραπλήσιος τὴν πρόσοψιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐλεφάντων στάσις τοῖς πύργοις, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων στρατιῶται τοῖς μεσοπυργίοις ὡμοίωντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατανοήσας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διακόσμησιν οἰκείως ἐξέταξε τὴν δύναμιν.

88. Γενομένης δὲ μάχης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἅπαντα σχεδὸν τὰ ἅρματα τῶν Ἰνδῶν διεφθάρη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐλεφάντων ταῖς τε τῶν σωμάτων ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς δεόντως χρωμένων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων συμπατούμενοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων θραυομένων τῶν ὀστῶν ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δὲ ταῖς προνομαῖς περιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαρθέντες πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐράττοντο καὶ δεινοῖς θανάτοις περιέπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι συγκεντούμενοι καὶ δι᾽ ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων τιτρωσκόμενοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερίσκοντο.
2 τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων εὐρώστως ὑπομενόντων τὸ
δεινὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν θηρίων ταῖς σαρίσαις
3 ἀναιρούντων ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
τῶν θηρίων συνακοντιζομένων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τραυμάτων περιοδύνων γινομένων οἱ μὲν περιβεβηκότες αὐτοῖς Ἰνδοὶ κρατεῖν τῆς ὁρμῆς τῶν ζῴων οὐκ ἴσχυον· ἐκνεύοντα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἀκατασχέτως ἐφέρετο καὶ τοὺς φίλους συνεπάτει.

4 Ταραχῆς δὲ πολλῆς γινομένης ὁ Πῶρος συνιδὼν τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν

at equal intervals along his front. Between these 326/5 B.C. beasts he placed the rest of his infantry, with the mission of helping them and preventing their being attacked with javelins from the sides. His whole array looked very much like a city, for the elephants resembled towers, and the soldiers between them curtain walls.[1] Alexander viewed the enemy's dispositions and arranged his own troops appropriately.

88. The fighting began, and practically all of the Indians' chariots were put out of action by Alexander's cavalry. Then the elephants came into play, trained to make good use of their height and strength. Some of the Macedonians were trodden under foot, armour and all, by the beasts and died, their bones crushed. Others were caught up by the elephants' trunks and, lifted on high, were dashed back down to the ground again, dying a fearful death.[2] Many soldiers were pierced through by the tusks and died instantly, run through the whole body. Nevertheless the Macedonians faced the frightening experience manfully. They used their long spears to good effect against the Indians stationed beside the elephants, and kept the battle even.[3] Then, as javelins began to find their marks in the sides of the great beasts and they felt the pain of the wounds, the Indian riders were no longer able to control their movements. The elephants veered and, no longer manageable, turned upon their own ranks and trampled friendly troops.[4]

As his formations grew more confused, Porus observed what was happening. He was mounted on the

[1] The same comparison in Curtius, 8. 14. 13. The other writers do not place infantry between the elephants.
[2] Curtius, 8. 14. 27.
[3] Curtius, 8. 14. 16.
[4] Arrian, 5. 17. 6.

ἐλεφάντων ἤθροισε περὶ αὑτὸν τεσσαράκοντα τῶν
θηρίων τὰ μήπω τεταραγμένα καὶ τῷ βάρει τῶν
ἐλεφάντων ἐπιβαλὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις πολὺν ἐποίει
φόνον, ἅτε καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τοῦ σώματος πολὺ προέχων
τῶν συστρατευομένων· τὸ γὰρ μῆκος ἦν πηχῶν
πέντε, τὸ δ᾿ εὖρος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ θώραξ αὐτοῦ διπλάσιος
5 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εὐρωστίᾳ διαφερόντων. διόπερ τὰ
βαλλόμενα σαυνία τοιαύτην εἶχε δύναμιν ὥστε μὴ
πολὺ λείπεσθαι τῶν καταπελτικῶν βελῶν. τῶν δ᾿
ἀντιτεταγμένων Μακεδόνων καταπεπληγμένων τὴν
ἀνδραγαθίαν τοῦ Πώρου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μεταπεμ-
ψάμενος τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τῶν ταγμάτων
6 προσέταξεν ἅπαντας βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. ταχὺ
δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πραξάντων τὸ παραγγελθὲν καὶ
βελῶν ἅμα πολλῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ
πάντων ἐπιτυγχανόντων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σκοποῦ
ὁ μὲν Πῶρος ἡρωικῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ διὰ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν τραυμάτων γενόμενος ἔξαιμος ἐλιποψύ-
χησεν καὶ περικλασθεὶς περὶ τὸ θηρίον πρὸς τὴν γῆν
7 κατηνέχθη. διαδοθείσης δὲ φήμης ὅτι τετελεύτη-
κεν ὁ βασιλεύς, τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς
φυγὴν ὥρμησεν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ πολλοῦ φόνου γενομένου ὁ
μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νικήσας ἀνεκαλέ-
σατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἔπεσον δὲ ἐν
τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισ-
χιλίων, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον καὶ δύο υἱοὶ τοῦ Πώρου καὶ

[1] Seven and one-half feet. The same figure is given by Arrian, 5. 19. 1. Plutatch, *Alexander*, 60. 6, says four cubits

largest of the elephants and gathered about him forty others which were not yet out of hand, then attacked the enemy with their combined weight and inflicted many losses. He was himself outstanding in bodily strength beyond any of his followers, being five cubits [1] in height and with a breadth of chest double that of his mightiest soldiers. His javelins were flung with such force that they were little inferior to the darts of the catapults. The Macedonians who opposed him were amazed at his fighting ability, but Alexander called up the bowmen and other light armed troops and ordered them to concentrate their fire upon Porus. This was done promptly. Many weapons flew toward the Indian at the same time and none missed its mark because of his great size. He continued to fight heroically until, fainting from loss of blood from his many wounds, he collapsed upon his elephant and fell to the ground.[2] The word went about that the king was killed, and the rest of the Indians fled. 326/5 B.C.

89. Many were slain in their flight, but then Alexander, satisfied with his brilliant victory, ordered the trumpets to sound the recall. Of the Indians, there fell in the battle more than twelve thousand, among whom were the two sons of Porus and his best gen-

and a span; Curtius, 8. 14. 13: "humanae magnitudinis prope modum excesserat." Tarn, however (*Alexander the Great*, 2, p. 170), thinks that the source was using a short cubit. We may prefer to find here a perhaps only slight exaggeration of Porus's evidently phenomenal height. Arrian (5. 4. 4) says that most Indians are of this height, and Curtius (7. 4. 6) reports that the Dahae were a head taller than the Macedonians. Alexander built beds five cubits long in the camp on the Hyphasis (chap. 95. 2).

[2] Curtius, 8. 14. 32-38; Justin, 12. 8. 5; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 60. 7.

οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων.
2 ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες ἑάλωσαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐννακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντες δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πῶρος ἔμπνους ὢν παρεδόθη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς τὴν θερα-
3 πείαν. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἔπεσον μὲν ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν ἑπτακοσίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἔθαψε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδραγαθήσαντας κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡλίῳ ἔθυσεν ὡς δεδωκότι τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρη καταστρέψασθαι.
4 Τῆς δὲ πλησίον ὀρεινῆς ἐχούσης πολλὴν μὲν ἐλάτην εὔτροφον, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ κέδρον καὶ πεύκην, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ὕλης ναυπηγησίμου πλῆθος ἄφθο-
5 νον κατεσκεύασε ναῦς ἱκανάς· διενοεῖτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς παραγενόμενος καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους καταστρεψάμενος διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατα-
6 πλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν. ἔκτισε δὲ δύο πόλεις, τὴν μὲν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καθ' ὃν τόπον αὐτὸς διέβη, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὸν Πῶρον ἐνίκησεν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἔργων κατασκευασθέντων διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν τὸν μὲν Πῶρον θεραπευθέντα βασιλέα κατέστησε διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἧς πρότερον ἦρχε χώρας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε, πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὔσης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

90. Ἴδιον δέ τι κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τὴν πλησίον ὑπῆρχε. χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς πρὸς ναυπηγίαν ὕλης εἶχεν

[1] Arrian also gives casualty figures (5. 18. 2): nearly 20,000 foot and 3000 horse. He mentions also Porus's two sons.

erals and officers.[1] Above nine thousand men were taken alive, together with eighty elephants. Porus himself was still breathing, and was turned over to the Indians for medical attention. On the Macedonian side, the losses were two hundred and eighty cavalry and more than seven hundred infantry.[2] The king buried the dead, rewarded those who had distinguished themselves in accordance with their deserts, and sacrificed to Helius who had given him the eastern regions to conquer. 326/5 B.C.

There were mountains not far away where grew thriving firs in quantity, together with no little cedar and pine and an ample supply of other woods suitable for shipbuilding, and Alexander constructed a large number of ships. He intended to reach the borders of India and to subdue all of its inhabitants, and then to sail downstream to the Ocean. He founded two cities, one beyond the river where he had crossed and the other on the spot where he had defeated Porus. These were built quickly because there was a plentiful supply of labour.[3] When Porus had recovered, Alexander appointed him, in recognition of his valour, king over the country where he formerly ruled. The Macedonian army rested for thirty days in the midst of a vast plenty of provisions.

90. Odd phenomena were observed in these mountains. In addition to the wood for shipbuilding, the

[2] Two hundred and thirty cavalry and eighty infantry (Arrian, 5. 18. 3).

[3] These were Nicaea and Bucephala, the latter named in honour of Alexander's noble horse, the death of which occurred at this time (chap. 95. 5). Curtius also splits his account of the founding (9. 1. 6 ; 3. 23), but the others deal with it only in this connection (Justin, 12. 8. 8 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 61 ; Arrian, 5. 19. 4-6).

ἡ χώρα πολλοὺς καὶ παρηλλαγμένους τοῖς μεγέθε-
σιν ὄφεις, ὄντας ἑκκαιδεκαπήχεις, πιθήκων τε γένη
πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι διαλλάττοντα,[1] ὧν τὴν
2 τέχνην τῆς θήρας αὐτὸ τὸ ζῷον ὑφηγεῖτο. μιμη-
τικὸν γὰρ ὑπάρχον πάσης πράξεως βίᾳ μὲν οὐ
ῥᾳδίως χειροῦται διά τε τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν σωμάτων
καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγχίνοιαν· τῶν δὲ κυνηγῶν
οἱ μὲν μέλιτι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀλείφονται, οἱ δὲ
βλεπόντων τῶν θηρίων ὑποδοῦνται, τινὲς δὲ ταῖς
κεφαλαῖς κάτοπτρα περιτιθέασιν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
ὑποδήμασι παραθέντες δεσμοὺς ἀπολείπουσιν, ἀντὶ
δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος ἰξὸν ὑποβάλλουσι, τοῖς δὲ κατ-
3 όπτροις ἐπίσπαστρα καθάπτουσι. διόπερ ὅταν
βούλωνται τὰ ζῷα τὰς πράξεις τῶν ὁραθέντων
ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀδυνατεῖ, τῶν μὲν βλεφάρων κεκολλημέ-
νων, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν δεδεμένων, τῶν δὲ σωμάτων
κατεχομένων· ὅθεν εὐχείρωτα πρὸς τὴν θήραν γίνε-
ται.[2]
4 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν ὑστερηκότα τῆς τοῦ
Πώρου συμμαχίας βασιλέα ὄνομα Σασιβισάρην
καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασε ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττό-
μενον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως περάσας τὸν
5 ποταμὸν προῆγε διὰ χώρας ἀρετῇ διαφερούσης· δέν-
δρων γὰρ εἶχε γένη διαλλάττοντα καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕψος

[1] διαλλαττόντων RX.
[2] This last sentence is omitted by RX.

---

[1] Twenty-four feet, apparently no impossible length for a python. Their mention is credited to Nearchus (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 133, F 10a) and to Cleitarchus (*op. cit.* no. 137, F 18). The former reference

region contained a large number of snakes remarkable for their size; they reached a length of sixteen cubits.[1] There were also many varieties of monkey, differing in size, which had themselves taught the Indians the method of their capture. They imitate every action that they see, but cannot well be taken by force because of their strength and cleverness. The hunters, however, in the sight of the beasts, smear their eyes with honey, or fasten sandals about their ankles, or hang mirrors about their necks.[2] Then they go away, having attached fastenings to the shoes, having substituted birdlime for honey, and having fastened slip nooses to the mirrors. So when the animals try to imitate what they had seen, they are rendered helpless, their eyes stuck together, their feet bound fast, and their bodies held immovable. That is the way in which they become easy to catch.[3] 326/5 B.C.

Sasibisares,[4] the king who had not moved in time to help Porus in the battle, was frightened, and Alexander forced him to accept his orders. Then Alexander resumed his march to the east, crossed the river, and continued on through a region of remarkable fertility. It possessed strange kinds of trees

comes from Arrian (*Indica*, 15. 10), the latter from Aelian (*De Natura Animalium*, 17. 2). Many of these and later anecdotes about India appear in Strabo, 15. 1. 20-45. 694-706, from the same sources.

[2] The handles of ancient mirrors are often pierced for cords to carry them by. Such loops could be slipped over one's head.

[3] This story is from Cleitarchus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* 137, F 19) and is repeated at greater length in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 17. 25.

[4] He has previously been called Embisarus (chap. 87. 2). For his surrender cp. Curtius, 9. 1. 7-8 (his submission is only implied): Arrian, 5. 20. 5.

ἔχοντα πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τὸ δὲ πάχος μόγις ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν περιλαμβανόμενα, τριῶν δὲ πλέθρων σκιὰν ποιοῦντα.[1]

Εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἡ χώρα ὄφεων πλῆθος, μικρῶν μὲν τοῖς μεγέθεσι, ταῖς δὲ ποικιλίαις ἐξηλλαγμένων·
6 οἱ μὲν γὰρ χαλκοειδεῖς ῥάβδους ἐπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ τὴν λόφην δασεῖαν εἶχον τριχώδη, διὰ δὲ τῶν δηγμάτων ὀξεῖς θανάτους ἀπειργάζοντο. τὸν δὲ πληγέντα πόνοι δεινοὶ συνεῖχον καὶ ῥύσις ἱδρῶτος αἱ-
7 ματοειδοῦς κατεῖχε. διόπερ οἱ Μακεδόνες δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν δηγμάτων[2] ἀπαλλάττοντες[3] τὰς κλίνας ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἐξήρτων καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νυκτὸς διηγρύπνουν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μαθόντες τὴν ἀντιφάρμακον ῥίζαν ἀπελύθησαν τῶν δεινῶν.

91. Προϊόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι Πῶρος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν τοῦ καταπεπολεμημένου Πώρου, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολιπὼν πέφευγεν εἰς τὸ τῶν Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος.
2 ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος παροξυνθεὶς Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν τούτου χώραν μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ προσέταξε τὴν βασιλείαν παραδοῦναι τῷ μεθ' αὑτοῦ Πώρῳ.

Αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἀδρεστῶν[4] καλουμένων ἔθνος στρατεύσας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἃς μὲν βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγαγόμενος εἰς τὴν

[1] ποιούντων RX.
[2] The prepositional phrase is omitted by RX.
[3] πάσχοντες F, which is a simpler reading.
[4] Ἀνδρεστῶν RX.

[1] Perhaps three-quarters of an acre. The tree is presumably the banyan. Cp. Strabo, 15. 1. 21, who quotes One-

which reached a height of seventy cubits, were so thick that they could scarcely be embraced by four men, and cast a shadow of three plethra.[1] 326/5 B.C.

This country possessed a multitude of snakes, small and variously coloured.[2] Some of them looked like bronze rods, others had thick, shaggy crests, and their bites brought sudden death. The person bitten suffered fearful pains and was covered with a bloody sweat. The Macedonians, who were much affected by the bites, slung their hammocks from trees[3] and remained awake most of the night. Later, however, they learned from the natives the use of a medicinal root and were freed from these fears.[4]

91. As he continued his march, word came to Alexander that King Porus (a cousin of the Porus who had been defeated) had left his kingdom and fled to the people of Gandara. This annoyed Alexander, and he sent Hephaestion with an army into his country and ordered that the kingdom should be transferred to the friendly Porus.[5]

He campaigned against the people known as the Adrestians, and got possession of their cities, partly by force and partly by agreement.[6] Then he came

sicritus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 134, F 22) to the effect that they could scarcely be embraced by five men, and could give shade to four hundred horsemen, but adds that Aristobulus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 139, F 36) says that they could shade fifty horsemen.

[2] Mentioned also by Nearchus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 133, F 10; Arrian, *Indica*, 15. 10) and Cleitarchus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 137, F 18; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 18. 2).

[3] According to Nearchus (*loc. cit.*), this is what the natives did.

[4] Curtius, 9. 1. 12.

[5] Arrian, 5. 20. 6; 21. 2-6.

[6] Arrian, 5. 22. 3.

3 τῶν Καθαίων[1] χώραν παρεγένετο. παρὰ δὲ τούτοις νόμιμον ἦν τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσι συγκατακαίεσθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐκυρώθη τὸ δόγμα παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις διὰ μίαν γυναῖκα φαρμάκοις ἀνελοῦσαν
4 τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς τὴν μεγίστην καὶ ὀχυρωτάτην πόλιν μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐνέπρησεν. ἄλλην δ' ἀξιόλογον πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν δεηθέντων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀπέλυσε τῶν κινδύνων αὐτούς.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ Σωπείθην τεταγμένας πόλεις, εὐνομουμένας καθ' ὑπερβολήν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πρὸς δόξαν πολιτεύονται καὶ τὸ κάλλος παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατον νενόμισται.
5 διόπερ ἐκ νηπίου παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ βρέφη διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρτια καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντα πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ ἰσχὺν εὔθετον τρέφεται, τὰ δὲ καταδεῆ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀνάξια τροφῆς ἡγούμενοι διαφθεί-
6 ρουσιν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς γάμους ποιοῦνται προικὸς μὲν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολυτελείας ἀφροντιστοῦντες, κάλλους δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος
7 ὑπεροχῆς μόνον φροντίζοντες. διόπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατοικούντων διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιώμασιν.

Παρὰ δὲ πάντας ὁ βασιλεὺς Σωπείθης περίβλεπτος ὢν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ μήκει τοὺς τέτταρας πήχεις ὑπεράγων προῆλθε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἐχούσης τὰ βασίλεια, παραδοὺς δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πάλιν ταύτην ἀπέλαβε

[1] Καθαρῶν codd.; corrected by Wesseling on the basis of general usage.

[1] Strabo (15. 1. 30) credits this story to Onesicritus (Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 134, F 21).

into the country of the Cathaeans, among whom it was the custom for wives to be cremated together with their husbands. This law had been put into effect there because of a woman who had killed her husband with poison.[1] Here he captured their greatest and strongest city after much fighting and burned it. He was in process of besieging another notable city when the Indians came to him with suppliant branches and he spared them further attack.[2] 326/5 B.C.

Next he undertook a campaign against the cities under the rule of Sopeithes. These are exceedingly well-governed. All the functions of this state are directed toward the acquiring of good repute, and beauty is valued there more than anything. From birth, their children are subjected to a process of selection. Those who are well formed and designed by nature to have a fine appearance and bodily strength are reared, while those who are bodily deficient are destroyed as not worth bringing up. So they plan their marriages without regard to dower or any other financial consideration, but consider only beauty and physical excellence. In consequence, most of the inhabitants of these cities enjoy a higher reputation than those elsewhere.[3]

Their king Sopeithes was strikingly handsome and tall beyond the rest, being over four cubits in height.[4] He came out of his capital city and gave over himself and his kingdom to Alexander, but received it back

[2] Curtius (9. 1. 23) is as vague as Diodorus. The city was Sangala (Arrian, 5. 22–24. 5).

[3] Curtius, 9. 1. 24-26; Strabo, 15. 1. 30 (where the story is credited to Onesicritus: Jacoby, *op. cit.* no. 134, F 21).

[4] Curtius, 9. 1. 28-30. Tarn supposes that he and Porus would have been about the same height, but that the cubit used in measuring them was different (p. 376, note 1).

8 διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπιείκειαν. ὁ δὲ Σωπείθης μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἅπασαν ἐπί τινας ἡμέρας λαμπρῶς εἱστίασε.

92. Τῷ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δῶρα παραστήσας κύνας ἔδωκεν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προτερήμασι θαυμαζομένους, οὓς ἔφασαν ταῖς τίγρεσιν
2 ἐπιμεμῖχθαι. βουλόμενος δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διὰ τῶν ἔργων λαβεῖν πεῖραν τῆς τῶν κυνῶν ἀρετῆς εἰσήγαγεν εἴς τι περίφραγμα λέοντα τέλειον καὶ τῶν δοθέντων κυνῶν δύο τοὺς εὐτελεστάτους προέβαλε τῷ λέοντι· τούτων δὲ κατισχυομένων ὑπὸ
3 τοῦ θηρίου δύο ἑτέρους ἀφῆκεν. τῶν δὲ τεττάρων περιγινομένων τοῦ λέοντος πεμφθείς τις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ μαχαίρας ἀφῄρει τὸ δεξιὸν σκέλος ἑνὸς τῶν κυνῶν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναβοήσαντος καὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων προσδραμόντων καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χειρὸς ἐπιλαβομένων ὁ μὲν Σωπείθης τρεῖς ἀντὶ τούτου δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο, ὁ δὲ κυνηγὸς ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ σκέλους ἔτεμνεν ἡσυχῇ κατ' ὀλίγον. ὁ δὲ κύων οὔτε κλαγγὴν οὔτε μυγμὸν προέμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐμπεπρικὼς ἔμενεν ἕως ὅτου γενόμενος ἔξαιμος ἐναπέθανε τῷ θηρίῳ.

93. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ἧκεν Ἡφαιστίων μετὰ τῆς συναπεσταλμένης δυνάμεως πολλὴν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καταπεπολεμηκώς. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν διὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπῄνεσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν Φηγέως δυναστείαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀσμένως τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων παρουσίαν προσδεξαμένων καὶ τοῦ Φηγέως μετὰ δώρων πολλῶν

through the kindness of the conqueror. Sopeithes 326/5 B.C.
with great goodwill feasted the whole army bountifully for several days.

92. To Alexander he presented many impressive gifts, among them one hundred and fifty dogs remarkable for their size and courage and other good qualities.[1] People said that they had a strain of tiger blood. He wanted Alexander to test their mettle in action, and he brought into a ring a full grown lion and two of the poorest of the dogs. He set these on the lion, and when they were having a hard time of it he released two others to assist them. The four were getting the upper hand over the lion when Sopeithes sent in a man with a scimitar who hacked at the right leg of one of the dogs. At this Alexander shouted out indignantly and the guards rushed up and seized the arm of the Indian, but Sopeithes said that he would give him three other dogs for that one, and the handler, taking a firm grip on the leg, severed it slowly. The dog, in the meanwhile, uttered neither yelp nor whimper, but continued with his teeth clamped shut until, fainting with loss of blood, he died on top of the lion.

93. While all this was going on, Hephaestion returned with his army from his mission, having conquered a big piece of India.[2] Alexander commended him for his successes, then invaded the kingdom of Phegeus where the inhabitants cheerfully accepted the appearance of the Macedonians.[3] Phegeus himself met the king with many gifts and Alexander con-

[1] Curtius, 9. 1. 31-33; Strabo, 15. 1. 31. 700. These Indian dogs were famous (Herodotus, 1. 192; 7. 187; cp. *Real-Encyclopädie*, 8 (1913), 2545).
[2] Continued from chap. 91. 2; Curtius, 9. 1. 35.
[3] Curtius, 9. 1. 36.

ἀπαντήσαντος τήν τε βασιλείαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησε καὶ ξενισθεὶς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν[1] ποταμὸν προῆγεν, οὗ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἦν σταδίων ἑπτά, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἓξ ὀργυιῶν, τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα σφοδρὸν καὶ δυσδιάβατον.

2 Ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦ Φηγέως περὶ τῆς πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ χώρας ὅτι δώδεκα μὲν ἡμερῶν ἔχει δίοδον ἔρημον, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην εἶναι ποταμὸν τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Γάγγην, τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριάκοντα καὶ δυεῖν σταδίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, πέραν δὲ τούτου κατοικεῖν τό τε τῶν Ταβραισίων καὶ Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν Ξανδράμην, ἔχοντα δισμυρίους μὲν ἱππεῖς, πεζῶν δὲ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, ἅρματα δὲ δισχίλια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ πολεμικῶς κεκοσμημένους τετρακισχιλίους, ἀπιστήσας δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις προσεκαλέσατο τὸν Πῶρον καὶ περὶ τῶν προσαγγελλομένων
3 τἀκριβὲς διεπυνθάνετο. ὁ δὲ τἆλλα μὲν ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντα ἀληθῆ διεβεβαιοῦτο, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Γανδαριδῶν ἔφησεν εὐτελῆ[2] παντελῶς εἶναι καὶ ἄδοξον ὡς ἂν κουρέως υἱὸν νομιζόμενον εἶναι. εὐπρεπῆ[3] γὰρ ὄντα τὸν τούτου πατέρα μεγάλως ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀγαπηθῆναι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δολοφονηθέντος εἰς τοῦτον περιστῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν.

4 Ὁ δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ ὁρῶν δυσεπίτευκτον

[1] Ὕπανσιν F.
[2] πανευτελῆ F. [3] ἐκπρεπῆ F.

firmed him in his rule. Alexander and the army were feasted bountifully for two days, and then advanced to the Hyphasis River, the width of which was seven furlongs, the depth six fathoms, and the current violent. This was difficult to cross. 326/5 B.C.

He questioned Phegeus about the country beyond the Indus River,[1] and learned that there was a desert to traverse for twelve days, and then the river called Ganges, which was thirty-two furlongs in width [2] and the deepest of all the Indian rivers. Beyond this in turn dwelt the peoples of the Tabraesians and the Gandaridae, whose king was Xandrames. He had twenty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants equipped for war.[3] Alexander doubted this information and sent for Porus, and asked him what was the truth of these reports. Porus assured the king that all the rest of the acount was quite correct, but that the king of the Gandaridae was an utterly common and undistinguished character, and was supposed to be the son of a barber. His father had been handsome and was greatly loved by the queen; when she had murdered her husband, the kingdom fell to him.[4]

Alexander saw that the campaign against the Gan-

[1] The river (the Beas) has just been called the Hyphasis, and editors have tended to remove the term "Indus" here.
[2] The same figure is given by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 62. 1. In Book 2. 37. 2, in a description based probably on Megasthenes, Diodorus gives the width of the river as thirty furlongs.
[3] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 62. 2, gives the reported figures as follows: 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8000 chariots, and 6000 elephants. In Book 2. 37. 3 also Diodorus gives the number of elephants as 4000.
[4] Curtius, 9. 2. 2-7. The narrative of these events in Arrian is entirely different.

τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας στρατείαν οὖσαν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων[1] ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρεταῖς καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐλπίδας εἶχε κρατήσειν τῶν βαρβάρων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυθίαν ἀνίκητον αὐτὸν ὠνομακέναι, τὸν δ' Ἄμμωνα συγκεχωρηκέναι τὴν ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς ἐξουσίαν.

94. Ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῖς συνεχέσι στρατείαις καταπεπονημένους καὶ σχεδὸν ὀκταετῆ χρόνον ἐν πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις τεταλαιπωρηκότας ὑπέλαβεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰ πλήθη τοῖς ἁρμόζουσι λόγοις προτρέψασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας
2 στρατείαν. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγεγόνει καὶ λύσις οὐδεμία τῶν πολέμων ἠλπίζετο· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἵππων διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τὰς ὁπλὰς ὑποτετρῖφθαι συνέβαινε, τῶν δὲ ὅπλων τὰ πλεῖστα κατεξάνθαι καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἑλληνικὸν ἱματισμὸν ἐκλελοιπέναι, συναναγκάζεσθαι δὲ βαρβαρικοῖς ὑφάσμασι χρῆσθαι, συντεμόντας τὰ τῶν
3 Ἰνδῶν περιβλήματα. κατὰ τύχην δὲ καὶ χειμῶνες ἄγριοι κατερράγησαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ βρονταὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηπτον.

Ἃ δὴ λογιζόμενος ἐναντιοῦσθαι ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς μίαν εἶχεν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας,[2] εἰ τοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τῆς εὐεργεσίας εἰς εὔνοιαν μεγάλην
4 προαγάγοιτο. διόπερ λεηλατεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς συνε-

[1] πρωτεύων codd.; corrected by Rhodoman.

daridae would not be easy, but he was not discouraged. 326/5 B.C.
He had confidence in the fighting qualities of his Macedonians, as well as in the oracles which he had received, and expected that he would be victorious. He remembered that the Pythia had called him "unconquerable," and Ammon had given him the rule of the whole world.[1]

94. Alexander observed that his soldiers were exhausted with their constant campaigns.[2] They had spent almost eight years among toils and dangers, and it was necessary to raise their spirits by an effective appeal if they were to undertake the expedition against the Gandaridae. There had been many losses among the soldiers, and no relief from fighting was in sight. The hooves of the horses had been worn thin by steady marching. The arms and armour were wearing out, and Greek clothing was quite gone. They had to clothe themselves in foreign materials, recutting the garments of the Indians.[3] This was the season also, as luck would have it, of the heavy rains. These had been going on for seventy days, to the accompaniment of continuous thunder and lightning.

All this he accounted adverse to his project, and he saw only one hope of gaining his wish, if he might gain the soldiers' great goodwill through gratitude. Accordingly he allowed them to ravage the enemy's

[1] For the consultation of Ammon cp. chap. 51 above. The Pythian story is mentioned otherwise only by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 14. 4.
[2] Curtius, 9. 2. 8-11. This reflection on the sad state of his soldiers is lacking in Arrian.
[3] Curtius, 9. 3. 10; Arrian, *Indica*, 6. 5.

[2] Fischer adds τυχεῖν, which certainly makes the passage read more easily.

χώρησε τὴν πολεμίαν[1] χώραν, γέμουσαν παντοίας ὠφελείας· ἐν αἷς δ' ἡμέραις ἡ δύναμις περὶ τὴν προνομὴν ἠσχολεῖτο, συναγαγὼν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγονότας παῖδας ταύταις μὲν συνεστήσατο κατὰ μῆνα διδόναι σῖτον, τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐπιφορὰς ταγματικὰς ἀπένειμε κατὰ
5 τοὺς τῶν πατέρων συλλογισμούς. ὡς δ' ἐπανῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πολλῶν πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς εὑρηκότες συνῆγε πάντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. διελθὼν δὲ λόγον πεφροντισμένον περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας στρατείας καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐδαμῶς συγκαταθεμένων ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

95. Κρίνας δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης τοὺς ὅρους θέσθαι τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμοὺς πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ᾠκοδόμησεν, ἔπειτα τριπλασίαν τῆς προϋπαρχούσης στρατοπεδείαν περιβαλόμενος ὤρυξε τάφρον τὸ μὲν πλάτος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ βάθος τεσσαράκοντα· τὴν δ' ἀναβολὴν ἐντὸς τῆς τάφρου σωρεύσας τεῖχος ἀξιόλογον ᾠκοδό-
2 μησε. προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς κατασκηνώσεις ἑκάστῳ δύο στιβάδας πενταπήχεις ἐχούσας[2] οἰκοδομῆσαι, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι πρὸς ταύταις καὶ δύο φάτνας τῶν εἰθισμένων διπλασίας, ἀκολούθως δὲ

[1] παραποταμίαν F; this is corrected by a later hand.
[2] ἐχούσας supplied by Fischer.

[1] It is not clear what this country can have been. The kingdom of Phegeus was friendly. The reading of one manuscript (see note 1 above) would avoid this logical difficulty, but it is hard to think that Alexander allowed his soldiers to plunder Phegeus's cities. Similar instances of plunder for the sake of loot occur below, chaps. 102. 6 and

country, which was full of every good thing.[1] During 326/5 B.C.
these days when the army was busy foraging, he called together the wives of the soldiers and their children; to the wives he undertook to give a monthly ration, to the children he distributed a service bonus in proportion to the military records of their fathers.[2] When the soldiers returned laden with wealth from their expedition, he brought them together to a meeting. He delivered a carefully prepared speech about the expedition against the Gandaridae but the Macedonians did not accept it, and he gave up the undertaking.[3]

95. Thinking how best to mark the limits of his campaign at this point, he first erected altars of the twelve gods each fifty cubits high[4] and then traced the circuit of a camp thrice the size of the existing one. Here he dug a ditch fifty feet wide and forty feet deep, and throwing up the earth on the inside, constructed out of it a substantial wall. He directed the infantry to construct huts each containing two beds five cubits long, and the cavalry, in addition to this, to build two mangers twice the normal size. In

104. 5-7. It was certainly only too often what generals did to please their soldiers.

[2] This is only one possible translation. The meaning of ἐπιφορὰς ταγματικάς and συλλογισμούς in this connection is quite unknown. Justin (12. 4. 2-11) alone, of the other Alexander historians, mentions this proposal to provide for the dependants of soldiers. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 71. 5, tells the same story in a later connection, after the mutiny at Opis. Cp. also Arrian, 7. 12. 1-2.

[3] This is all that Diodorus has to say about the famous mutiny (except for the mention in chap. 108. 3). Cp. Curtius, 9. 2. 12–3. 19; Justin, 12. 8. 10-17; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 62; Arrian, 5. 25-28.

[4] Curtius, 9. 3. 19; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 62. 4; Arrian, 5. 29. 1. Fifty cubits would be seventy-five feet.

καὶ τἄλλα τὰ καταλείπεσθαι μέλλοντα τοῖς μεγέθε-
σιν αὐξῆσαι. ταῦτα δὲ πράττειν ἤμελλεν, ἅμα μὲν
ἡρωικὴν βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι στρατοπεδείαν, ἅμα
δὲ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀπολιπεῖν σημεῖα μεγάλων ἀν-
δρῶν, ἀποφαίνοντα ῥώμας σωμάτων ὑπερφυεῖς.
3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς
δυνάμεως ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευθεὶς ἀνέκαμψεν
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν· καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ
σκάφη νεναυπηγημένα καὶ ταῦτα καταρτίσας ἕτερα
4 προσεναυπηγήσατο. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
ἧκον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σύμμαχοι καὶ μισθοφόροι διὰ
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡγμένοι, πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τρισ-
μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δ᾽ οὐ πολὺ λείποντες τῶν ἑξακισ-
χιλίων, ἐκομίσθησαν δὲ καὶ πανοπλίαι διαπρεπεῖς
πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, φαρ-
μάκων δ᾽ ἰατρικῶν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. ταῦτα μὲν
5 οὖν διέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. τῆς δὲ ναυτικῆς
παρασκευῆς συντελεσθείσης καὶ διακοσίων μὲν ἀ-
φράκτων ἡτοιμασμένων, ὀκτακοσίων δὲ ὑπηρετικῶν
τὰς μὲν ⸢παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κτισθείσας πόλεις
ὠνόμασε τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι
Νίκαιαν, τὴν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἵππου κατὰ
τὴν πρὸς Πῶρον μάχην Βουκεφάλαν.

96. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς ναῦς τὸν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δὲ πολὺ μέρος

[1] Curtius, 9. 3. 19; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 62. 4.

[2] Nicaea and Bucephala lay on what should be called the Hydaspes, but this river (the Jhelum) became the Acesines after its confluence with the Sandabal and the Hyarotis. Below, however (chap. 96. 1) Diodorus mentions the confluence of the Acesines and Hydaspes, as if they were different. Or

the same way, everything else which would be left 326/5 B.C.
behind was exaggerated in size.[1] His idea in this was to make a camp of heroic proportions and to leave to the natives evidence of men of huge stature, displaying the strength of giants.

After all this had been done, Alexander marched back with all his army to the Acesines River by the same route by which he had come.[2] There he found the ships built which he had ordered. He fitted these out and built others. At this juncture there arrived from Greece allied and mercenary troops under their own commanders, more than thirty thousand infantry and a little less than six thousand cavalry.[3] They brought with them elegant suits of armour for twenty-five thousand foot soldiers, and a hundred talents of medical supplies. These he distributed to the soldiers. Now the naval flotilla was ready; he had prepared two hundred open galleys and eight hundred service ships.[4] He gave names to the two cities which had been founded on either side of the river, calling one of them Nicaea in celebration of his victory in war, and the other Bucephala in honour of his horse, who had died in the battle against Porus.[5]

96. He himself embarked with his Friends, and sailed down the river toward the southern Ocean.[6] The bulk of his army marched along the bank of the

perhaps the Acesines is the Sandabal (Chenab) after all (as Arrian, 6. 14. 5).

[3] Curtius (9. 3. 21) mentions 7000 foot and 5000 horse, with 25,000 sets of armour inlaid with gold and silver.

[4] Arrian, 6. 2. 4: eighty triaconters and 2080 ships in all (from Ptolemy).

[5] Above, chap. 89. 6, and note. Arrian (5. 29. 5) states that the cities had been partly destroyed by floods.

[6] It was now the autumn of 326 B.C. (Strabo, 15. 1. 17. 691: "a few days before the setting of the Pleiades").

τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡδοιπόρει, προηγουμένου Κρατεροῦ καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος.

Ὡς δ' ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ὑδάσπου συμβολήν, ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας προῆγεν ἐπὶ
2 τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Σίβους.[1] τούτους δέ φασιν ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄορνον πέτραν στρατευσάντων καὶ τῆς μὲν πολιορκίας ἀποτυχόντων, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ κατοικισθέντων ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος πλησίον ἐπιφανεστάτης πόλεως προῆλθον οἱ δόξῃ πρωτεύοντες τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐντυχόντες δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν ἀνανεωσάμενοι πάντα ποιήσειν ἔφασαν μετὰ προθυμίας ὡς ἂν συγγενεῖς ὄντες καὶ δῶρα προσε-
3 κόμισαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδείξας ἐλευθέρας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰ συνορίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν.

Καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Ἀγαλασσεῖς ἠθροικότας πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους, συνάψας αὐτοῖς μάχην καὶ νικήσας τοὺς μὲν πλείστους κατέκοψεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας εἰς τὰς πλησίον πόλεις ἐκπολιορκήσας
4 ἐξηνδραποδίσατο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγχωρίων συναθροισθέντων δισμυρίους μὲν καταφυγόντας εἰς πόλιν μεγάλην κατὰ κράτος εἷλε, τῶν δ' Ἰνδῶν διαφραξάντων τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν μαχομένων εὐρώστως βιαζόμενος ἀπέβαλε τῶν Μα-
5 κεδόνων οὐκ ὀλίγους. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμπρή-

[1] Ἴβους codd., but cp. Curtius, 9. 4. 1.

[1] Craterus was on the right bank, Hephaestion on the left (Arrian, 6. 2. 2).

river, under the command of Craterus and Hephaestion.[1] 326/5 B.C.

When they came to the junction of the Acesines and the Hydaspes,[2] he disembarked his soldiers and led them against the people called Sibians. They say that these are the descendants of the soldiers who came with Heracles to the rock of Aornus and were unsuccessful in its siege,[3] and then were settled in this spot by him. Alexander encamped beside a very fine city, and the leading notables of the citizens came out to see him. They were brought before the king, renewed their ties of kinship, and undertook to help him enthusiastically in every way, as being his relatives. They also brought him magnificent gifts. Alexander accepted their goodwill, declared their cities to be free, and marched on against the next tribes.

He found that the Agalasseis, as they were called, were drawn up in battle formation.[4] Their strength was forty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. He engaged them and, conquering, cut down most of them. Those who escaped into the neighbouring cities he besieged, captured, and sold as slaves. Other groups of natives had collected also. He took by storm a large city in which twenty thousand persons had taken refuge. The Indians barricaded the streets and fought stoutly from the houses, and he lost not a few Macedonians in pressing his victory home. This made him angry. He set fire to the city

[2] Cp. p. 394, note 2, for the river names.
[3] Cp. chap. 85 above. For the story, which is lacking in Arrian, cp. Curtius, 9. 4. 1-3; Justin, 12. 9. 2.
[4] Curtius, 9. 4. 5 (who calls them simply "another nation" but mentions their 40,000 troops); Justin, 12. 9. 2 ("Agensones").

σας τὴν πόλιν συγκατέκαυσε τοὺς πλείστους· τῶν δ᾽ ἐγχωρίων τῶν ὑπολειπομένων εἰς τρισχιλίους συμφυγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ μεθ᾽ ἱκετηριῶν δεηθέντας ἀπέλυσεν.

97. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς ναῦς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο μέχρι τῆς συμβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. μεγάλων δὲ ῥείθρων εἰς ἕνα τόπον συρραττόντων ἴλιγγες πολλαὶ καὶ φοβεραὶ συνίσταντο καὶ τὰ σκάφη συστρέφουσαι διέφθειρον. τῆς δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος βίας ὀξείας καὶ σφοδρᾶς οὔσης καὶ τῆς τῶν κυβερνητῶν τέχνης κατισχυομένης δύο μὲν μακραὶ ναῦς κατέδυσαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πλοίων οὐκ
2 ὀλίγα πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσε. τῆς δὲ ναυαρχίδος καταρράκτῃ μεγάλῳ περιπεσούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον ἦλθε κίνδυνον. διὸ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὄντος ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα γυμνῷ[1] τῷ σώματι τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἀντείχετο βοηθείας, οἱ δὲ φίλοι παρενήχοντο, σπεύδοντες ὑποδέξασθαι περιτρεπομένης τῆς νεὼς
3 τὸν βασιλέα. πολλῆς δὲ ταραχῆς περὶ τὴν ναῦν οὔσης καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἀντιταττομένων τῇ τοῦ ῥεύματος βίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ κατισχύοντος πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ δύναμιν μόγις ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τῶν νεῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσεν. σωθεὶς δὲ παραδόξως τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσεν ὡς μεγί-

[1] γυμνὸς F.

[1] Curtius, 9. 4. 6-7, stating that the Indians burned themselves up to avoid subjection.

and burned up most of the inhabitants with it.[1] The remaining natives to the number of three thousand had fled to the citadel, whence they appealed for mercy with suppliant branches. Alexander pardoned them. 326/5 B.C.

97. Again he embarked with his Friends upon the ships and continued his voyage down the river until he came to the confluence of the rivers named above with the Indus.[2] As these mighty streams flowed together, many dangerous eddies were created and these, making the ships collide with each other, caused much damage. The current was swift and violent and overcame the skill of the helmsmen. Two of the galleys were sunk and not a few of the other vessels ran aground. The flagship was swept into a great cataract and the king was brought into extreme danger. With death staring him in the face, Alexander flung off his clothing and leaping into the water naked saved himself as best he could.[3] His Friends swam with him, concerned to help the king to safety now that his ship was foundering. Aboard the ship itself there was wild confusion. The crew struggled against the might of the water but the river was superior to all human skill and power. Nevertheless, Alexander and the ships [4] with him got safely ashore with difficulty. Thus narrowly escaping, he sacrificed to the gods as having come through mortal

[2] Both Curtius (9. 4. 8-14) and Arrian (6. 4. 4–5. 4) speak of the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines, rightly. The Indus joins the system much further to the south.

[3] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 58. 4, reported that Alexander could not swim.

[4] This is the manuscript reading, possibly a mistake for νέων, "young men," or νεόντων, "swimmers." This last is the suggestion of Professor Post.

στους ἐκπεφευγὼς κινδύνους καὶ πρὸς ποταμὸν ὁμοίως Ἀχιλλεῖ διαγωνισάμενος.

98. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Συδράκας[1] καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Μαλλούς, ἔθνη πολυάνθρωπα καὶ μάχιμα, κατέλαβε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἠθροικότας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ὀκτακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἅρματα δ' ἑπτακόσια. οὗτοι πρὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παρουσίας ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγγισε τῇ χώρᾳ, συν-
εφρόνησαν καὶ μυρίας παρθένους δόντες καὶ λα-
2 βόντες διὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας ταύτης διηλλάγησαν. οὐ
μὴν συγκατέβησαν εἰς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν στασιάσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς τὰς σύνεγγυς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν.

Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ πρώτῃ πόλει πλησιάσας
3 ἐξ ἐφόδου διενοεῖτο πολιορκεῖν ταύτην. ἔνθα δὴ
τῶν τερατοσκόπων τις Δημοφῶν ὄνομα προσελθὼν αὐτῷ διά τινων οἰωνῶν ἔφη προδηλοῦσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ μέγαν κίνδυνον ἐκ τραύματος ἐσόμενον ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. διόπερ ἠξίου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφεῖναι μὲν ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἐφ' ἑτέρας
4 δὲ πράξεις ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν νοῦν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
τούτῳ μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὡς ἐμποδίζοντι[2] τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, αὐτὸς δὲ διατάξας τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, φιλοτιμούμενος αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς βίας χειρώσασθαι. τῶν δὲ μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ὑστερούντων πρῶτος δια-

[1] Συρακούσας codd.; corrected by Fischer. Cp. Curtius, 9. 4. 15.
[2] ἐμποδὼν γινομένῳ πρὸς F.

---

[1] *Iliad*, 21. 228-382. Cp. Curtius, 9. 4. 14: "cum amne bellum fuisse crederes"; Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute*

danger, reflecting that he, like Achilles, had done 326/5 B.C.
battle with a river.[1]

98. Next Alexander undertook a campaign against the Sydracae [2] and the people known as Mallians, populous and warlike tribes. He found them mobilized in force, eighty thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and seven hundred chariots. Before the arrival of Alexander they had been at war with each other; but as he approached, they patched up their quarrel and made peace, giving and receiving ten thousand young women to establish a friendly relationship through marriage.[3] Even so they did not come out to fight together but fell into a dispute over the command and retired into the neighbouring cities.

Alexander neared the first city and thought to take it by storm, but one of the seers, named Demophon,[4] came to him and reported that there had been revealed to him by numerous portents a great danger which would come to the king from a wound in the course of the operation. He begged Alexander to leave that city alone for the present and to turn his mind to other activities. The king scolded him for dampening the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and then, disposing his army for the attack, led the way in person to the city, eager to reduce it by force. The engines of war were slow to come up, but he broke open

Alexandri, 2. 9. 340 E: θαλάτταν μαχομένην ἔπλευσε. Curtius, like Arrian (6. 5. 1-4), says that Alexander was not wrecked.

[2] This name appears variously as "Sydracae" (Strabo, 15. 1. 8. 687), "Sudracae" (Curtius, 9. 4. 15), "Sugambri" (Justin, 12. 9. 3), and "Oxydracae" (Arrian, 6. 4. 3). Their strength is given by Curtius as 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 900 chariots; by Justin as 80,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry. The ethnic Sydracae recalls the name of the Hindu warrior caste, the Kshatriyas (so L. A. Post).

[3] Curtius, 9. 4. 15.

[4] Curtius, 9. 4. 27-29.

κόψας πυλίδα καὶ παρεισπεσὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολ-
λοὺς μὲν κατέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος
συνεδίωξεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
5 Τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων περὶ τὴν τειχομαχίαν ἔτι δια-
τριβόντων ἁρπάσας κλίμακα καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἄκρας
τείχεσι προσερείσας καὶ τὴν πέλτην ὑπὲρ τῆς κε-
φαλῆς ἔχων προσανέβαινε. τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέρ-
γειαν ὀξύτητος φθανούσης τοὺς προμαχομένους
6 τῶν βαρβάρων ταχέως ἐπέβη τῷ τείχει. τῶν δ'
Ἰνδῶν εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐλθεῖν οὐ τολμώντων, ἐκ δια-
στήματος δὲ ἀκοντιζόντων καὶ τοξευόντων ὁ μὲν
βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν κατεπονεῖτο,
οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες δύο κλίμακας προσθέντες διὰ τού-
των προσανέβαινον ἀθρόοι καὶ συντριβεισῶν ἀμφο-
τέρων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθησαν.

99. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐρημωθεὶς πάσης βοηθείας
ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσαι πρᾶξιν παράδοξον καὶ μνήμης
ἀξίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπελθεῖν ἄπρακτον
πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνάξιον κρίνας ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἰδίας
εὐπραξίας καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων μόνος εἰς τὴν
2 πόλιν. συνδραμόντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
ὑπέστη τεθαρρηκότως τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφοράν·
προβαλλόμενος δ' ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν δένδρον τι παρ'
αὐτὸ[1] τὸ τεῖχος ἐρριζωμένον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων
αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος, ἠμύνετο τοὺς Ἰνδούς,[2] οὕτω[3] τῷ
θυμῷ παραστὰς ὡς ἂν τις βασιλεὺς τηλικούτων ἤδη
ἀπειργασμένων ἀνδραγαθήσειε, τὴν ἐσχάτην τοῦ
βίου καταστροφὴν εὐκλεεστάτην γενέσθαι φιλο-
3 τιμούμενος. πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κράνος ἐλάμ-
βανε πληγάς, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ εἰς τὴν πέλτην ἐδέχετο·

[1] δένδρον ὃ ἦν παρὰ F.
[2] τοὺς δ' Ἰνδοὺς κατέπληξε F.

a postern gate and was the first to burst into the city.[1] 326/5 B.C.
He struck down many defenders and, driving the others before him, pursued them to the citadel.

The Macedonians were still busy fighting along the wall. Alexander seized a ladder, leaned it against the walls of the citadel, and clambered up holding a light shield above his head. So quick was he to act that he reached the top of the wall before the defenders could forestall him. The Indians did not dare to come within his reach, but flung javelins and shot arrows at him from a distance. He was staggering under the weight of their blows when the Macedonians raised two ladders and swarmed up in a mass, but both broke and the soldiers tumbled back upon the ground.

99. Thus the king was left alone, and boldly took a step which was as little expected as it is worthy of mention. It seemed to him out of keeping with his tradition of success to descend from the wall to his troops without accomplishing anything. In stead, he leapt down with his armour alone inside the city. As the Indians thronged about him, he withstood their attack undismayed. He protected himself on the right by a tree[2] which grew close by the wall and on the left by the wall itself and kept the Indians off, displaying such courage as you would expect from a king who had his record of achievement. He was eager to make this, if it were the last feat of his life, a supremely glorious one. He took many blows upon the helmet, not a few upon the shield. At length he

[1] Curtius, 9. 4. 30–5. 20; Justin, 12. 9. 5-13; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 63; Arrian, 6. 9. 1–11. 8.
[2] Curtius, 9. 5. 4; Justin, 12. 9. 9.

[3] τούτῳ codd.; corrected by Fischer.

τέλος δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὑπὸ τὸν μαστὸν ἔπεσεν εἰς γόνυ,
κατισχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. εὐθὺ δ' ὁ μὲν το-
ξεύσας Ἰνδὸς καταφρονήσας προσέδραμε καὶ κατα-
φέροντος αὐτοῦ πληγὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπέθηκε τῇ
λαγόνι τὸ ξίφος καὶ καιρίου γενομένου τοῦ τραύ-
ματος ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ πλησίον κλάδου καὶ διαναστὰς
προεκαλεῖτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς βουλομένους διαγωνί-
σασθαι.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Πευκέστης, εἷς τῶν
ὑπασπιστῶν, δι' ἑτέρας κλίμακος προσαναβὰς πρῶ-
τος ὑπερήσπισε τὸν βασιλέα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἕτεροι
πλείους ἐπιφανέντες καὶ καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους διέσωσαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. τῆς δὲ πόλεως
ἁλούσης κατὰ κράτος οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες διὰ τὸν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως θυμὸν πάντας τοὺς περιτυχόντας
ἀνῄρουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν νεκρῶν ἐπλήρωσαν.

5 Ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσχολη-
θέντος περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανὴν
καὶ Σογδιανὴν κατοικισθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐκ πολλοῦ
μὲν τὸν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις κατοικισμὸν χαλεπῶς
ἔφερον, τότε δὲ φήμης προσπεσούσης αὐτοῖς ὅτι
τρωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τετελεύτηκεν ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ
6 τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἀθροισθέντες δὲ εἰς τρισχιλίους,
κατὰ τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδὴν πολλὰ πονήσαντες,
ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν μετὰ
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν.

[1] An arrow three feet long (Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 2. 9. 341 c).

[2] Curtius, 9. 5. 11-13.

[3] There is general agreement that Peucestas deserves the credit for saving Alexander's life at this time. Curtius (9. 5. 14-18) reports that Timaeus, Leonnatus, and Aristonus were present also. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 63) names Limnaeus;

was struck by an arrow[1] below the breast and fell 326/5 B.C.
upon one knee, overborne by the blow. Straightway the Indian who had shot him, thinking that he was helpless, ran up and struck at him; Alexander thrust his sword up into the man's side, inflicting a mortal wound. The Indian fell, and the king caught hold of a branch close by and getting on his feet, defied the Indians to come forward and fight with him.[2]

At this point Peucestes, one of the guards, who had mounted another ladder, was the first to cover the king with his shield. After him a good many appeared together, which frightened the natives and saved Alexander.[3] The city was taken by storm. In a fury at the injury to their king, the Macedonians killed all whom they met and filled the city with corpses.

For many days the king lay helpless under his treatment,[4] and the Greeks who had been settled in Bactria and Sogdiana, who had long borne unhappily their sojourn among peoples of another race and now received word that the king had died of his wounds, revolted against the Macedonians. They formed a band of three thousand men and underwent great hardship on their homeward route. Later they were massacred by the Macedonians after Alexander's death.[5]

Arrian (6. 10-11), Leonnatus and Abreas. According to Cleitarchus, Ptolemy was present also, but Ptolemy denied this (Curtius, 9. 5. 21; Arrian, 6. 11. 8). He is named only by Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 2. 327 B, and 2. 13. 343 D-345 (naming also Limnaeus and Leonnatus, but omitting Peucestas).

[4] Curtius, 9. 5. 22-30.

[5] Curtius, 9. 7. 1-11, who reports that they all eventually made good their escape. Diodorus is thinking of the 20,000 foot and 3000 horse killed by the soldiers of Pithon (Book 18. 4. 8; 7. 1-9).

100. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος διασωθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς σωτήρια μεγάλας ἑστιάσεις τῶν φίλων ἐποιεῖτο. παρὰ δὲ τὸν πότον
2 ἴδιόν τι συνέβη γενέσθαι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἑταίροις παραληφθείς τις Μακεδών, ὄνομα Κόραγος, ῥώμῃ σώματος διαφέρων καὶ πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἠνδραγαθηκώς, παροξυνθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης προεκαλέσατο μονομαχῆσαι Διώξιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ἀθλητὴν ἄνδρα καὶ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις
3 νίκαις ἐστεφανωμένον. τῶν δὲ παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸν πότον, ὡς εἰκός, συνεπιλαβομένων τῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τοῦ μὲν Διωξίππου συγκαταθεμένου, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἡμέραν τῆς μάχης τάξαντος, ὡς ὁ τῆς μονομαχίας χρόνος ἧκεν, πολλαὶ μυριάδες
4 ἀνδρῶν συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Μακεδόνων ὁμοεθνῶν ὄντων τῷ Κοράγῳ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως συμφιλοτιμουμένου, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῷ Διωξίππῳ συναγωνιώντων προῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ μὲν Μακεδὼν πολυτελέσιν ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένος,
5 ὁ δ' Ἀθηναῖος γυμνὸς ὑπαληλιμμένος, ἔχων ῥόπαλον[1] σύμμετρον.

Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὑπεροχῇ θαυμαζομένων οἱονεί τις θεομαχία μέλλουσα γίνεσθαι προσεδοκήθη· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μακεδὼν διά τε τὴν φύσιν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων μεγάλην ἐπιφέρων κατάπληξιν Ἄρει παρεμφερὴς ὑπελαμβάνετο, ὁ δὲ Διώξιππος ὑπερέχων τε τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀθλήσεως μελέτην, ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἰδιότητα τὴν πρόσοψιν Ἡρακλεωτικὴν εἶχεν.

[1] πῖλον codd.; corrected by Hemsterhuys. Cp. sect. 5, below.

100. Alexander recovered from his wound, sacrificed to the gods, and held a great banquet for his Friends. In the course of the drinking a curious event occurred which is worth mention.[1] Among the king's companions there was a Macedonian named Coragus, strong in body, who had distinguished himself many times in battle. His temper was sharpened by the drink, and he challenged to single combat Dioxippus the Athenian, an athlete who had won a crown in the foremost games. As you would expect, the guests at the banquet egged them on and Dioxippus accepted. The king set a day for the contest, and when the time came, many myriads of men gathered to see the spectacle. The Macedonians and Alexander backed Coragus because he was one of them, while the Greeks favoured Dioxippus. The two advanced to the field of honour, the Macedonian clad in his expensive armour but the Athenian naked, his body oiled, carrying a well-balanced club. 326/5 B.C.

Both men were fine to look upon with their magnificent physiques and their ardour for combat. Everyone looked forward, as it were, to a battle of gods. By his carriage and the brilliance of his arms, the Macedonian inspired terror as if he were Ares, while Dioxippus excelled in sheer strength and condition; still more because of his club he bore a certain resemblance to Heracles.

[1] The story of Coragus and Dioxippus is otherwise told only by Curtius, 9. 7. 16-26 (calling the Macedonian "Corratas"). Dioxippus had won the victory in boxing at Olympia, probably in 336 B.C. (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 284). See Addenda.

6 Ὡς δ' ἐπῆγον ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν Μακεδὼν ἐκ συμ-
μέτρου διαστήματος λόγχην ἠκόντισεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος
βραχὺ παρεγκλίνας τὴν ἐπιφερομένην πληγὴν ἐξ-
ένευσεν. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν τὴν Μακεδονικὴν σάρισαν
προβεβλημένος ἐπεπορεύετο, ὁ δ' ἐγγίσαντος αὐτοῦ
7 τῷ ῥοπάλῳ πατάξας τὴν σάρισαν ἀπέθραυσεν. ὁ δὲ
δυσὶν ἐλαττώμασι περιπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξί-
φους μάχην κατήντησεν. μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ σπᾶ-
σθαι τὴν μάχαιραν ἔφθασε προπηδήσας καὶ τῇ μὲν
εὐωνύμῳ κατέλαβε τὴν ἕλκουσαν τὸ ξίφος χεῖρα,
τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ κινήσας ἐκ τῆς βάσεως τὸν ἀντίπαλον
8 ὑπέσυρε τὰ σκέλη. ῥιφέντος δ' ἐπὶ γῆν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ
τὸν τράχηλον τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀνατεινά-
μενος ἀνέβλεψεν πρὸς τοὺς θεωμένους.

101. Ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους διά τε τὸ
παράδοξον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ
μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὴν θέαν δια-
λύσας ἀπηλλάγη, δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μακεδό-
2 νος ἥττῃ. ὁ δὲ Διώξιππος ἀφεὶς τὸν πεπτωκότα
καὶ περιβόητον νίκην ἀπενεγκάμενος ἀπῄει ταινι-
ούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὡς κοινὴν πᾶσι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι παρεσχημένος εὐδοξίαν. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχη γε
εἴασεν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον καυχήσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα
τῇ νίκῃ.

3 Ὅ τε γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἀλλοτριώτερον αἰεὶ διετέθη
πρὸς αὐτόν, οἵ τε φίλοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
πάντες οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν Μακεδόνες, φθονοῦντες
αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἔπεισαν μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διακονίας
τεταγμένον ὑποβαλεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον χρυ-
σοῦν ποτήριον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς πότον
καταιτιασάμενοι κλοπὴν καὶ ποτήριον εὑρηκέναι
προσποιηθέντες εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἤγαγον

As they approached each other, the Macedonian flung his javelin from a proper distance, but the other inclined his body slightly and avoided its impact. Then the Macedonian poised his long lance and charged, but the Greek, when he came within reach, struck the spear with his club and shattered it. After these two defeats, Coragus was reduced to continuing the battle with his sword, but as he reached for it, the other leaped upon him and seized his swordhand with his left, while with his right hand the Greek upset the Macedonian's balance and made him lose his footing. As he fell to the earth, Dioxippus placed his foot upon his neck and, holding his club aloft, looked to the spectators. 326/5 B.C.

101. The crowd was in an uproar because of the stunning quickness and superiority of the man's skill, and the king signed to let Coragus go, then broke up the gathering and left. He was plainly annoyed at the defeat of the Macedonian. Dioxippus released his fallen opponent, and left the field winner of a resounding victory and bedecked with ribands by his compatriots, as having brought a common glory to all Greeks. Fortune, however, did not allow him to boast of his victory for long.

The king continued more and more hostile to him, and Alexander's friends and all the other Macedonians about the court, jealous of the accomplishment, persuaded one of the butlers to secrete a golden cup under his pillow [1]; then in the course of the next symposium they accused him of theft, and pretending to find the cup, placed Dioxippus in a shameful and

[1] That is to say, the pillow upon his banqueting couch.

4 τὸν Διώξιππον. ὁ δὲ θεωρῶν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνδρομὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων τότε μὲν ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ πότου, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κατάλυσιν παραγενόμενος καὶ γράψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ μεμηχανημένων ταύτην μὲν ἐνετείλατο τοῖς ἰδίοις δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησεν, ἀβούλως μὲν εἰς τὴν μονομαχίαν συγκαταβάς, πολὺ δ' ἀφρονεστέραν

5 τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν ποιησάμενος. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καταμεμφομένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄνοιαν ἐπιπλήττοντες ἔφασαν χαλεπὸν εἶναι δύναμιν μὲν σώματος ἔχειν μεγάλην, νοῦν δὲ μικρόν.

6 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν ἐπὶ τῇ τἀνδρὸς τελευτῇ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπεζήτησε τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρόντι μὲν οὐ χρησάμενος, ἀπόντα δὲ ἐπιποθήσας ὅτε οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔγνω τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν τἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν διαβαλόντων κακίας.

102. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν προσέταξεν παρὰ[1] τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντιπαράγειν ταῖς ναυσίν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος κατῆρεν εἰς τὴν χώραν

2 τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Σαμβαστῶν. οὗτοι δὲ τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς οὐδενὸς τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἐθνῶν λείπονται· οἰκοῦντες δὲ πόλεις δημοκρατουμένας καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Μακεδόνων πυνθανόμενοι στρατιώτας ἤθροισαν πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχιλίους, ἅρματα δὲ πεντακόσια.

3 Τοῦ δὲ στόλου προσπλέοντος[2] τῷ ξένῳ καὶ παρα-

embarrassing position. He saw that the Macedonians were in league against him and left the banquet. 326/5 B.C. After a little he came to his own quarters, wrote Alexander a letter about the trick that had been played on him, gave this to his servants to take to the king, and then took his own life. He had been ill-advised to undertake the single combat, but he was much more foolish to make an end of himself in this way. Hence many of those who reviled him, mocking his folly, said that it was a hard fate to have great strength of body but little sense.

The king read the letter and was very angry at the man's death. He often mourned his good qualities, and the man whom he had neglected when he was alive, he regretted when he was dead. After it was no longer of use, he discovered the excellence of Dioxippus by contrast with the vileness of his accusers.

102. Alexander gave orders to the army to march beside the river and escort the ships, while he resumed his river voyage in the direction of the ocean and sailed down to the country of the people called Sambastae.[1] These, in numbers of men and in good qualities, were inferior to none of the Indian peoples. They lived in cities governed in a democratic manner, and learning of the coming of the Macedonians assembled sixty thousand infantry, six thousand cavalry, and five hundred armoured chariots.

When the fleet put in to them, they were amazed

[1] They are called Sabarcae in the manuscripts of Curtius. For the story cp. Curtius, 9. 8. 4-7. Arrian (6. 15. 1-4) gives completely different names and events, and it is impossible to reconcile the two accounts.

[1] ἐπὶ codd.; corrected by Hertlein.

[2] πλέοντος codd.; corrected by Dindorf.

δόξῃ τῆς παρουσίας πτοηθέντες καὶ τὴν διαβεβοημένην δόξαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπλαγέντες, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συμβουλευσάντων μὴ διαγωνίζεσθαι πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν, ἀξιοῦντες φιλανθρώπως αὐ-
4 τοῖς προσενεχθῆναι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συγχωρήσας τὴν εἰρήνην δωρεαῖς τε μεγάλαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἡρωικαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐτιμήθη.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν κατοικοῦντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ Σόδρας καὶ Μασσανούς, προσηγάγετο. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν, μυρίους καταλέξας οἰκήτορας.
5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Μουσικάνου τοῦ βασιλέως χώραν καταντήσας τόν τε δυνάστην ὑποχείριον λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ἐποίησεν. ἑξῆς δ' εἰς τὴν Πορτικάνου δυναστείαν ἐμβαλὼν δύο μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου πόλεις ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφεὶς διαρπάσαι τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Πορτικανὸν εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καταφυγόντα χειρωσάμενος ἀπέκτεινε μαχόμενον. τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἁπάσας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦτον τεταγμένας ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψε καὶ πολὺν φόβον τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἐπέστησεν.

6 Ἑξῆς δὲ τήν τε Σάμβου βασιλείαν ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ τὰς πλείστας πόλεις ἐξανδραποδισάμενος καὶ κατα-

[1] Curtius, 9. 8. 8, merely says "another nation." The ethnic Sodrae recalls the name of the lowest Hindu caste, the Sudras.

at the strange and unanticipated manner of its arrival 326/5 B.C.
and trembled at the great reputation of the Macedonians. Besides, their own older men advised them not to risk a fight, so they sent out fifty of their leading citizens as envoys, begging Alexander to treat them kindly. The king praised them and agreed to a peace, and was showered with large gifts and heroic honours by them.

Next Alexander received the submission of those who dwelt on either side of the river; they were called Sodrae and Massani.[1] Here he built a city Alexandria by the river, and selected for it ten thousand inhabitants.[2] Next he came to the country of King Musicanus; getting him into his hands he killed him and made the country subject.[3] Then he invaded the kingdom of Porticanus,[4] took two cities by storm, allowed the soldiers to plunder the houses, and then set them on fire. Porticanus himself escaped to a stronghold, but Alexander captured it and slew him, still fighting. Then he proceeded to take all of the other cities of his kingdom and destroyed them, and spread the terror of his name throughout the whole region.

Next he ravaged the kingdom of Sambus.[5] He enslaved the population of most of the cities and,

[2] Curtius, 9. 8. 8; Arrian, 6. 15. 2 (at the junction of the Acesines and the Indus).

[3] Arrian, 6. 15. 5-7. He revolted later, Arrian, 6. 17. 1-2. Curtius speaks of a people called Musicani (9. 8. 8-10) and mentions this revolt (9. 8. 16). Onesicritus is the source of anecdotes about this kingdom (Strabo, 15. 1. 34; Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 134, F 24).

[4] Curtius, 9. 8. 11-12; Arrian, 6. 16. 1-2 (calling him "Oxycanus").

[5] Curtius, 9. 8. 13-16; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 64. 1 (Sabbas; Strabo, 15. 1. 33, has Sabus); Arrian, 6. 16. 3-4.

σκάψας κατέκοψε τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τὰς ὀκτὼ
7 μυριάδας. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔθνος τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Βραχμάνων τοιαύταις περιέπεσε συμφοραῖς· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν δεηθέντων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κολάσας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέλυσε[1] τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σάμβος μετὰ τριάκοντα ἐλεφάντων φυγὼν εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χώραν διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

103. Τῆς δ' ἐσχάτης τῶν Βραχμάνων πόλεως, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἁρματήλια,[2] πεφρονηματισμένης ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ[3] δυσχωρίαις ἀπέστειλεν ὀλίγους τῶν ψιλῶν, προστάξας ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐὰν
2 ἐπεξίωσιν[4] ὑποφεύγειν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες πεντακόσιοι καὶ προσμαχόμενοι τοῖς τείχεσι κατεφρονήθησαν. ἐπεξελθόντων δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στρατιωτῶν τρισχιλίων προσποιηθέντες καταπεπλῆχθαι πρὸς φυ-
3 γὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μετ' ὀλίγον ὑποστὰς τοὺς διώκοντας τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν συστησάμενος οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς δ' ἐζώγρησε.

Τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ὀλίγοι τρωθέντες
4 εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἦλθον κινδύνους· ὁ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων σίδηρος[5] κεχρισμένος ἦν φαρμάκου θανασίμου δυνάμει, ᾗ πεποιθότες κατέβησαν εἰς τὴν διὰ τῆς μάχης κρίσιν. κατεσκεύαστο δὲ ἡ τοῦ φαρ-

[1] ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀφεὶς XQ.
[2] Ἅρματα RX. Cp., however, chap. 103. 8.
[3] καὶ ἐν F.
[4] ὑπεξίωσιν X.
[5] ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς βέλεσι σίδηρος F.

after destroying the cities, killed more than eighty 326/5 B.C. thousand of the natives.[1] He inflicted a similar disaster upon the tribe of the Brahmins, as they are called; the survivors came supplicating him with branches in their hands, and punishing the most guilty he forgave the rest. King Sambus fled with thirty elephants into the country beyond the Indus and escaped.

103. The last city of the Brahmins, called Harmatelia,[2] was proud of the valour of its inhabitants and of the strength of its location. Thither he sent a small force of mobile troops with orders to engage the enemy and retire if they came out against them. These were five hundred in number, and were despised when they attacked the walls.[3] Some three thousand soldiers issued out of the city, whereupon Alexander's task force pretended to be frightened and fled. Presently the king launched an unexpected attack against the pursuing natives and charging them furiously killed some of the natives, and captured others.

A number of the king's forces were wounded, and these met a new and serious danger.[4] The Brahmins had smeared their weapons with a drug of mortal effect; that was their source of confidence when they joined the issue of battle. The power of the drug

[1] According to Curtius (9. 8. 15), this was the figure given by Cleitarchus.
[2] The name appears also as Harmata (Stephen of Byzantium). Cp. note 2 on the opposite page.
[3] Curtius, 9. 8. 17-19 ("at the extremity of the realm of Sambus"); Arrian, 6. 16. 5. The same figures are given by Curtius, who identifies the "five hundred" as Agriani.
[4] Curtius, 9. 8. 20-28; Justin, 12. 10. 1-3 (in the realms of King Ambus).

μάκου δύναμις ἔκ τινων ὄφεων θηρευομένων καὶ
5 τούτων εἰς τὸν ἥλιον νεκρῶν τιθεμένων. τῆς δ' ἐκ τοῦ καύματος θερμασίας τηκούσης τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς φύσιν ἱδρῶτας ἐκπίπτειν συνέβαινε καὶ διὰ τῆς νοτίδος συνεκκρίνεσθαι[1] τὸν τῶν θηρίων ἰόν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ τρωθέντος εὐθὺς ἐνάρκα τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὀξεῖαι συνηκολούθουν ὀδύναι καὶ σπασμὸς καὶ τρόμος τὸν ὅλον ὄγκον κατεῖχεν, ὅ τε χρὼς ψυχρὸς καὶ πελιδνὸς[2] ἐγίνετο καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐμέτων ἐξέπιπτεν χολή, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος μέλας ἀφρὸς ἀπέρρει καὶ σηπεδὼν ἐγεννᾶτο. αὕτη δὲ γενομένη ταχέως ἐπέτρεχε τοῖς κυρίοις τόποις τοῦ σώματος καὶ δεινοὺς θανάτους ἀπειργάζετο.
6 διὸ συνέβαινε τὰ ἴσα τοῖς μεγάλα τραύματ' εἰληφόσι καὶ τοῖς μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀμυχὴν ἀναδεξαμένοις.

Τοιαύτῃ δ' ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν τρωθέντων ἀπολλυμένων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλυπήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ὕστερον μὲν βασιλεύσαντι, τότε δὲ ἀγαπωμένῳ μεγάλως ἠχθέσθη.
7 ἴδιον γάρ τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅ τινες εἰς θεῶν πρόνοιαν ἀνέπεμπον. ἀγαπώμενος γὰρ ὑφ' ἁπάντων διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς πάντας εὐεργεσίας, οἰκείας τῆς φιλανθρώπου βοηθείας ἔτυχεν. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἴδεν ὄψιν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον, καθ' ἣν ἔδοξεν ὁρᾶν δράκοντα βοτάνην ἐν τῷ στόματι κρατεῖν καὶ δεῖξαι ταύτης τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν
8 τόπον ἐν ᾧ φύεται. ἐγερθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν βοτάνην ἀναζητήσας καὶ τρίψας τό τε

[1] ἐκκρίνεσθαι RX.
[2] πελιὸς XQ.

was derived from certain snakes which were caught 326/5 B.C.
and killed and left in the sun. The heat melted the substance of the flesh and drops of moisture formed; in this moisture the poison of the animals was secreted. When a man was wounded, the body became numb immediately and then sharp pains followed, and convulsions and shivering shook the whole frame. The skin became cold and livid and bile appeared in the vomit, while a black froth was exuded from the wound and gangrene set in. As this spread quickly and overran to the vital parts of the body, it brought a horrible death to the victim. The same result occurred to those who had received large wounds and to those whose wounds were small, or even a mere scratch.

So the wounded were dying in this fashion, and for the rest Alexander was not so much concerned, but he was deeply distressed for Ptolemy, the future king, who was much beloved by him. An interesting and quite extraordinary event occurred in the case of Ptolemy, which some attributed to divine Providence. He was loved by all because of his character and his kindnesses to all, and he obtained a succour appropriate to his good deeds. The king saw a vision in his sleep. It seemed to him that a snake appeared carrying a plant in its mouth, and showed him its nature and efficacy and the place where it grew. When Alexander awoke, he sought out the plant, and grinding it up plastered it on Ptolemy's body. He

σῶμα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατέπλασε καὶ πιεῖν δοὺς ὑγιῆ κατέστησε.

Γνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς εὐχρηστίας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τυχόντες τῆς ὁμοίας θεραπείας διεσώθησαν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Ἁρματηλίων, οὖσαν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην, ἐπεβάλετο μὲν πολιορκεῖν, τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων ἀπαντησάντων μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν καὶ παραδόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμωρίας.

104. Αὐτὸς δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ δύο νήσους ἐνταῦθα κατιδὼν ἔθυσεν ἐν αὐταῖς τοῖς θεοῖς[1] μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ μεγάλα χρυσᾶ[2] κατεπόντισε ταῖς σπονδαῖς συναφιείς, βωμοὺς δὲ Τηθύος καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ κατασκευάσας ὑπέλαβεν τετελευτηκέναι τὴν προκεχειρισμένην στρατείαν. ἀναζεύξας δ' ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὐπίσω διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρέ-
2 πλευσεν εἰς Πάταλα,[3] πόλιν ἐπίσημον. αὕτη δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶχε διατεταγμένην ὁμοίως τῇ Σπάρτῃ· ἀπὸ δύο γὰρ οἴκων ἐν αὐτῇ διεδέχοντο δύο βασιλεῖς, αἰεὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγούμενοι πραττομένων, τὸ[4] δὲ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχεῖον τῶν ὅλων προειστήκει.

[1] εὑρὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθυσεν τοῖς θεοῖς F.
[2] καὶ μεγάλα μὲν καὶ πολλὰ ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ RX.
[3] εἰς τὰ ὕαλα R; εἰς ταύαλα X; ἐς τέβαλα F (ταύαλα added in the margin by a second hand).
[4] τὸ supplied by Fischer.

[1] Arrian's failure to mention this incident, favourable as it is to Ptolemy, raises some question as to whether Ptolemy included it in his history. It is mentioned also by Strabo, 15. 2. 7. 723.

also prepared an infusion of the plant and gave Ptolemy a drink of it. This restored him to health.[1] 326/5 B.C.

Now that the value of the remedy had been demonstrated, all the other wounded received the same therapy and became well. Then Alexander prepared to attack and capture the city of Harmatelia, which was large and strongly fortified, but the inhabitants came to him with suppliant branches and handed themselves over. He spared them any punishment.

104. Now he resumed his voyage down the river and sailed out into the Ocean with his Friends.[2] There he discovered two islands [3] and on them performed rich sacrifices.[4] He threw many large cups of gold into the sea following the libations which he poured from them. He erected altars to Tethys and Oceanus [5] and judged that his projected campaign was at an end. Setting sail from there, he proceeded back up the river to Patala, a fine city.[6] It had a government organized very much like that of Sparta. Two kings descended from two houses inherited their office from their fathers. They had charge of all arrangements concerning war, while the council of elders was the principal administrative body.[7]

[2] According to Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 1, the voyage had taken seven months. It was now the summer of 325 B.C. (Strabo, 15. 1. 17).
[3] One was in the river, one outside (Arrian, 6. 19. 3-4). Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 1, mentions only one island.
[4] To Poseidon and to the gods whom Ammon had designated (Arrian, 6. 19. 4-5). No gods named (Curtius, 9. 9. 27; Justin, 12. 10. 4; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 1).
[5] Justin (12. 10. 6) mentions "aras."
[6] Arrian, 6. 20. 1. This was about the rising of the Dog Star, or mid-July 325 (Strabo, 15. 1. 17. 692).
[7] Only Arrian (6. 20. 2-5) at this point mentions Alexander's voyage down to the Rann of Kutch.

3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν σκαφῶν ἐνέπρησε, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν στόλον παραδοὺς Νεάρχῳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν φίλων προσέταξε τὴν παραλίαν πᾶσαν παραπλεῦσαι δι' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ πάντα κατασκεψαμένους ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς
4 τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπῆλθε πολλὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναντιουμένους κατεπολέμησε, τοὺς δὲ πειθαρχοῦντας φιλανθρώπως προσεδέχετο. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἀβρίτας[1] ὀνομαζομένους καὶ τοὺς τὴν Κεδρωσίαν οἰκοῦντας
5 χωρὶς κινδύνων προσηγάγετο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴν μὲν ἄνυδρον, οὐκ ὀλίγην δὲ ἔρημον διελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ Ὠρείτιδος[2] ὅρια κατήντησεν. εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη τὴν δύναμιν διελόμενος τοῦ μὲν πρώτου μέρους ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνα Πτολεμαῖον, τοῦ δὲ
6 δευτέρου Λεοννάτον, καὶ τὴν μὲν παραθαλαττίαν λεηλατεῖν προσέταξε Πτολεμαῖον, τὴν μεσόγειον δὲ κατασῦραι Λεοννάτον, τὴν δ' ὑπώρειαν καὶ τὴν ὀρεινὴν αὐτὸς ἐπόρθησεν. ἅμα δ' ὑφ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν πολλῆς χώρας δῃουμένης ἔγεμε πᾶς τόπος πυρὸς καὶ διαρπαγῆς καὶ πολλῶν φόνων.
7 διόπερ ταχέως οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται πολλῆς λείας ἐκυρίευσαν, τῶν δ' ἀναιρεθέντων σωμάτων ἀριθμὸς

[1] Ἀβρίτας R; Ἁβρίτας X; Ἀμβρίτας F.

[2] Νεωτερίδας RX; Νεωτερίδος F; corrected by Wesseling from other authors and the mention of the Ὠρεῖται, below, in chap. 105.

---

[1] Curtius, 9. 10. 4.

[2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 2; Arrian, 6. 21. 1-3. According to Curtius, Nearchus was ordered to explore the Ocean and then rejoin Alexander, either via the Indus or by way of the Euphrates (9. 10. 3). Curtius states that the fleet was

Alexander burned such of his boats as were damaged.[1] The rest of the fleet he turned over to Nearchus and others of his Friends with orders to coast along through the Ocean and, having observed everything, to meet him at the mouth of the Euphrates River.[2] He set his army in motion and traversed much territory and defeated his opponents, while those who submitted were received kindly.[3] He brought over without fighting the so-called Abritae[4] and the tribesmen of Cedrosia. Then he marched through a long stretch of waterless and largely desert country as far as the frontiers of Oreitis. There he divided his force into three divisions and named as commander of the first, Ptolemy, and of the second, Leonnatus. He ordered Ptolemy to plunder the district by the sea and Leonnatus to lay waste the interior.[5] He himself devastated the upper country and the hills. At one and the same time much country was wasted, so that every spot was filled with fire and devastation and great slaughter. The soldiers soon became possessed of much booty, and the number of 326/5 B.C.

commanded by Nearchus and Onesicritus, Plutarch that Onesicritus was only the chief pilot, and Arrian (from Nearchus; cp. 8. 20. 5) that Nearchus had sole command. The fleet waited until the end of the monsoons and sailed in the autumn (on the 20th of Boedromion, according to Arrian, *Indica*, 21. 1; but Arrian gives the wrong year) or about 20 September 325 B.C.

[3] An anticipation of Vergil's *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (*Aen.* 6. 853); like the Romans, Alexander did not accept neutrality.

[4] They are called Arabitae in Curtius (9. 10. 5) and Arrian (6. 21. 4).

[5] Curtius, 9. 10. 5-7, who also uses the term "Cedrosii" for the usual Gadrosia (Arrian, 6. 22. 1). He does, however, use the variant term "Horitae" (9. 10. 6). This expedition is sketched by Strabo, 15. 2. 1-8. 720-723.

ἐγένετο πολλῶν μυριάδων. τῇ δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἀπωλείᾳ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι προσεχώρησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ.

8 Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος παρὰ θάλατταν ἐφιλοτιμήθη κτίσαι πόλιν καὶ[1] λιμένα μὲν εὑρὼν ἄκλυστον, πλησίον δ' αὐτοῦ τόπον εὔθετον ἔκτισεν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

105. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν Ὠρειτῶν[2] χώραν διὰ τῶν παρόδων παρεισελθὼν ταχέως ἅπασαν ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο. οἱ δὲ Ὠρεῖται[3] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσια τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἔχουσιν, ἓν δὲ ἐξηλλαγμένον
2 καὶ παντελῶς ἄπιστον. τῶν γὰρ τελευτησάντων παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα ἐκφέρουσιν[4] οἱ συγγενεῖς γυμνοὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας δρυμοὺς θέντες τὸ σῶμα τὸν μὲν περικείμενον τῷ νεκρῷ κόσμον περιαιροῦνται, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καταλείπουσι βορὰν[5] τοῖς θηρίοις· τὰς δ' ἐσθῆτας διελόμενοι θύουσι τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ἥρωσι καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὑποδοχὴν ποιοῦνται.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κεδρωσίαν,[6] παρὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος, καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς ἔθνος ἄξενον καὶ παν-
4 τελῶς θηριῶδες. τούς τε γὰρ ὄνυχας οἱ τῇδε

[1] καὶ added by Fischer.
[2] Νεωριτῶν R ; Νεωρητῶν X ; Νεωρειτῶν F.
[3] Νεωρίται RX ; Νεωρεῖται F.
[4] ἐκφέρουσιν Fischer ; φέρουσιν codd.
[5] εἰς βορὰν X.
[6] Γεδρωσίαν F.

[1] Curtius, 9. 10. 7 ; Arrian, 6. 21. 5. It was built by Leonnatus (Arrian, 6. 22. 3).

persons killed reached many myriads. By the destruction of these tribes, all their neighbours were terrified and submitted to the king. 326/5 B.C.

Alexander wanted to found a city by the sea. He found a sheltered harbour with suitable terrain near by, and established there a city called Alexandria.[1]

105. He advanced into the country of the Oreitae through the passes and quickly brought it all into submission.[2] These Oreitae have the same customs as the Indians in other respects, but have one practice which is strange and quite unbelievable. The bodies of the dead are carried out by their relatives, who strip themselves naked and carry spears. They place the bodies in the thickets which exist in the country and remove the clothing from them, leaving them to be the prey of wild beasts. They divide up the clothing of the dead, sacrifice to the heroes of the nether world, and give a banquet to their friends.[3]

Next Alexander advanced into Cedrosia, marching near the sea, and encountered a people unfriendly and utterly brutish.[4] Those who dwelt here let the nails

[2] Arrian, 6. 22. 1-2. Bare mention in Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 2.

[3] This story is not otherwise told in this connection, but is of a type which is located in northern Iran. Onesicritus (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 134, F 5 ; Strabo, 11. 11. 3) told that the Bactrians and Sogdians threw out their sick and elderly to be devoured by dogs, but that Alexander stopped the practice. Plutarch twice refers to this institution. In *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 5. 328 c, he says that Sogdians kill their parents, while the Scythians eat them. In *Can Vice Cause Unhappiness?* 3. 499 D, he reports that the dead were devoured by dogs among the Hyrcanians, and by birds among the Bactrians (also Cicero, *Disp. Tusc.* 1. 45. 108). For other instances cp. Strabo, 11. 11. 3. 517 ; 8. 520 ; 15. 1. 56. 710 ; 62. 714.

[4] Curtius, 9. 10. 8-10 ; Arrian, 6. 23. 1-3.

κατοικοῦντες ἐκ γενετῆς αὔξουσι μέχρι γήρως καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα πεπιλωμένον ἐῶσι, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα[1] διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότητα κατακεκαυμένον ἔχουσι
5 καὶ δορὰς θηρίων περιβέβληνται. σιτοῦνται δὲ τὰ ἐκβαλλόμενα κήτη σαρκοφαγοῦντες καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις κατασκευάζουσι τοὺς μὲν τοίχους . . .[2] ἀνοικοδομοῦντες, τὰς δ' ὀροφὰς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κήτους πλευρῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὀκτωκαιδεκαπήχεις δοκοὶ κατηρτίζοντο· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν κεράμων ταῖς φολίσι τῶν ζῴων τὰς στέγας κατεκάλυπτον.

6 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος διελθὼν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιπόνως διὰ σπάνιν τροφῆς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς χώραν ἔρημον καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς τὸ ζῆν χρησίμων σπανίζουσαν. πολλῶν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν διαφθειρομένων ἥ τε δύναμις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠθύμησεν καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνέπεσεν οὐκ εἰς τὴν τυχοῦσαν λύπην τε καὶ φροντίδα· δεινὸν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο τοὺς ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλομένους ἐν ἐρήμῳ χώρᾳ πάντων σπανίζοντας ἀκλεῶς ἀπόλλυ-
7 σθαι. διόπερ εὐζώνους ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Παρθυαίαν καὶ Δραγγινὴν καὶ Ἀρίαν[3] καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πλησιοχώρους τῇ ἐρήμῳ, προστάξας ταχέως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῆς Καρμανίας δρομάδας καμήλους καὶ τὰ νωτοφορεῖν εἰωθότα τῶν φορ-

[1] τρίχωμα RX.

of their fingers and toes grow from birth to old age. 326/5 B.C. They also let their hair remain matted like felt. Their colour is burned black by the heat of the sun, and they clothe themselves in the skins of beasts. They subsist by eating the flesh of stranded whales. They build up the walls of their houses from . . .[1] and construct roofs with whale's ribs, which furnish them rafters eighteen cubits in length.[2] In the place of tiles, they covered their roofs with the scales of these beasts.[3]

Alexander passed through this territory with difficulty because of the shortage of provisions and entered a region which was desert, and lacking in everything which could be used to sustain life.[4] Many died of hunger. The army of the Macedonians was disheartened, and Alexander sank into no ordinary grief and anxiety. It seemed a dreadful thing that they who had excelled all in fighting ability and in equipment for war should perish ingloriously from lack of food in a desert country. He determined, therefore, to send out swift messengers into Parthyaea and Dranginê and Areia and the other areas bordering on the desert, ordering these to bring quickly to the gates of Carmania racing camels and other animals trained to carry burdens, loading them

[1] Arrian's account (6. 23. 3) states that the walls were made of shells (critical note 2), but Diodorus seems to be thinking only of materials secured from whales. All of these anecdotes probably derive from Nearchus (cp. Strabo, 15. 2. 2. 720).

[2] Twenty-seven feet. Cp. Arrian, *Indica*, 30. 8.

[3] Whales, of course, do not have scales.

[4] Curtius, 9. 10. 8-17 ; Justin, 12. 10. 7 ; Arrian, 6. 23. 4–26. 5 ; Strabo, 15. 2. 5-6. 721-722.

[2] Fischer suggests ἐκ κόγχων ; cp. Arrian, 6. 23. 3.

[3] Spelled Ἀρεία in chap. 78. 1.

τίων,[1] γεμίσαντας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων.
8 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὀξέως διανύσαντες πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τούτων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἐποίησαν παρακομισθῆναι πολλὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ὡρισμένον τόπον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τὴν ἀβοήθητον ἔνδειαν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν τινες ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λεοννάτον τεταγμένοις καὶ συχνοὺς καταβαλόντες ἀπέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν.

106. Μόγις δὲ περάσας τὴν ἔρημον ἧκεν εἰς χώραν οἰκουμένην καὶ πάντων τῶν χρησίμων εὐποροῦσαν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ προσαναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ᾽ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας προῄει κεκοσμημένῃ τῇ δυνάμει πανηγυρικῶς καὶ Διονύσῳ κῶμον ἤγαγεν ἑορτάζων καὶ μέθῃ καὶ πότοις χρώμενος[2] κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν.

2 Ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ γενόμενος, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν βιαίως καὶ ὑβριστικῶς κεχρημένων ταῖς ἐξουσίαις παρανενομήκασι, πολλοὺς τῶν τε σατραπῶν

[1] This word does not make sense, and must be corrupt. Since after camels we should expect mules to be mentioned, Fischer's suggestion of ὀρεικῶν is attractive. L. A. Post suggests φορβάδων.
[2] χρώμενος ἦν F.

---

[1] Curtius, 9. 10. 17; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 3. Arrian does not mention this, and all of these districts are so far from Carmania that they can hardly have sent help in time to be of any use. This tradition may be connected with the

with food and other necessities.[1] These messengers 326/5 B.C.
hurried to the satraps of these provinces and caused supplies to be transported in large quantities to the specified place. Alexander lost many of his soldiers, nevertheless, first because of shortages that were not relieved, and then at a later stage of this march, when some of the Oreitae attacked Leonnatus's division and inflicted severe losses, after which they escaped to their own territory.[2]

106. So with great difficulty Alexander passed through the desert and came into a well-populated country provided with everything needful.[3] Here he rested his army, and for seven days proceeded with his troops in festive dress. He himself led a Dionysiac comus, feasting and drinking as he travelled.[4]

After this celebration was over, Alexander learned that many of his officials who had used their powers arbitrarily and selfishly had committed serious offences, and he punished a number of his satraps and

subsequent execution or removal of the satraps of Gedrosia, Susianê, and Paraetacenê as evidence for Alexander's attempt to find scapegoats for his ill-planned march through the desert (E. Badian, *Classical Quarterly*, 52 (1958), 147-150).

[2] Curtius, 9. 10. 19. Leonnatus was later crowned for a victory on this occasion (Arrian, 7. 5. 5).

[3] This was Gedrosia; Curtius, 9. 10. 18; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 66. 3; 67. 4; Arrian, 6. 27. 1.

[4] This was in Carmania. Curtius (9. 10. 22-28) gives a lurid account of this celebration; so also Plutarch, *Alexander*, 67. 1-3. Arrian (6. 28. 1-2) states that this story was not told by Ptolemy or Aristobulus, and that he himself did not believe it. It may be connected, however, with the tradition of dramatic and athletic games held at this time in celebration of the safe return of both army and fleet (E. Badian, *Classical Quarterly*, 52 (1958), 152). But both Philip (Book 16. 87. 1) and Alexander (chap. 72 5) were fond of the comus in general. See Addenda.

καὶ στρατηγῶν τιμωρίας ἠξίωσεν.[1] τῆς δ' εἰς τοὺς παρανενομηκότας ἡγεμόνας μισοπονηρίας διαβοηθείσης πολλοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς ὕβρεις καὶ παρανομίας εἰς φόβον ἐνέπιπτον καὶ τινὲς μὲν μισθοφόρους ἔχοντες ἀφίσταντο τοῦ βασιλέως, τινὲς δὲ χρήματα συσκευασάμενοι δρασ-
3 μοὺς ἐποιοῦντο. ταῦτα δὲ πυνθανόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὰν ἀναγνῶσι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, παραχρῆμα πάντας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀπολῦσαι.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως διατρίβοντος ἔν τινι παραθαλαττίῳ πόλει ὀνομαζομένῃ Σαλμοῦντι καὶ σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιοῦντος κατέπλευσαν οἱ δι' Ὠκεανοῦ πλεῖν τὴν παραθαλάττιον ἀπεσταλμένοι καὶ παραχρῆμα εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθόντες τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἠσπά-
5 σαντο καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπήγγειλαν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἡσθέντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κρότῳ μεγάλῳ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπεσημήναντο καὶ πᾶν τὸ θέατρον μεστὸν ἦν χαρᾶς ἀνυπερβλήτου.

6 Οἱ δὲ καταπεπλευκότες ἀπήγγελλον ἀμπώτεις

[1] The repetitious and turgid aspect of this sentence has inclined the editors to emend it, but no suggestions have proved very convincing.

[1] For Alexander's disciplinary measures at this time cp. Curtius, 9. 10. 20-21 ; 10. 1. 1-9, 30-42 ; Justin, 12. 10. 8 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 68. 2-3 ; Arrian, 27. 1-5 ; 29-30 (Badian, *op. cit.* 147-150).

generals.[1] As the word spread of his righteous indignation against his offending subordinates, many of the generals recalled acts of insolence or illegality which they had performed and became alarmed. Some who had mercenary troops revolted against the king's authority, and others got together sums of money and fled. As news of this was brought to the king, he wrote to all his generals and satraps in Asia, ordering them, as soon as they had read his letter, to disband all their mercenaries instantly. 326/5 B.C.

At this juncture the king was resting in a seaside city called Salmus and was holding a dramatic contest in the theatre, when into the harbour there sailed the fleet which had been ordered to return by way of the Ocean and to explore the coastal waters.[2] The officers came immediately into the theatre, greeted Alexander, and reported what they had done. The Macedonians were delighted at their arrival and welcomed their safe return with loud applause, so that the whole theatre was filled with the wildest rejoicing.

The mariners told how they had encountered as-

[2] Nearchus gave an account of his joining Alexander on two occasions, once, very dramatically, in Carmania (Arrian, 6. 28. 5-6 ; *Indica*, 33-36), and again after sailing up the Pasitigris to Susa (*Indica*, 42). Curtius (10. 1. 10) and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 68. 1) seem to refer only to the former meeting. Neither meeting was on the coast. Salmus is not identified. Reference to the dramatic festival makes it likely that Diodorus is here referring to the reunion at Susa (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 6. 100, with reference to Nearchus and Onesicritus), but inserting it in the wrong place in his narrative. Pliny states that the voyage of Nearchus took six months, so the time would now be the spring of 324 B.C. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, 1 (1893), 153, note 5, calculated the length of the voyage as about seventy-five days, which would bring the reunion rather to December of 325.

τε καὶ πλήμας παραδόξους γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀμπώτεις παραδόξους νήσους τε ὁρᾶσθαι πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, κατὰ δὲ τὰς πλήμας ἅπαντας τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους κατακλύζεσθαι, πολλοῦ καὶ βιαίου ῥεύματος[1] φερομένου πρὸς τὴν χέρσον, τῆς δ' ἐπιφανείας ἀφρῷ πολλῷ λευκαινομένης. τὸ δὲ παραδοξότατον, κήτεσι πολλοῖς καὶ
7 τὸ μέγεθος ἀπίστοις συγκεκυρηκέναι· ταῦτα δὲ φοβηθέντας αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπελπίσαι τὸ ζῆν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα μετὰ τῶν σκαφῶν διαφθαρησομένους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἁπάντων μιᾶς φωνῆς γινομένης καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων πολλοῦ συντελουμένου ψόφου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν σαλπίγγων ἐνιεμένων τῷ παραδόξῳ πτοηθῆναι τὰ θηρία καὶ δῦναι πρὸς βυθόν.

107. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περὶ τούτων διακούσας τοῖς μὲν ἡγουμένοις τοῦ στόλου παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καταπλεῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν συνῆψε τοῖς Σουσιανοῖς ὅροις. περὶ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους Κάρανος ὁ Ἰνδός, ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μεγάλην ἔχων προκοπὴν καὶ τιμώμενος ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, παράδοξον ἐποιήσατο
2 τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν. βεβιωκὼς γὰρ ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀπείρατος γεγονὼς ἀρρωστίας ἔκρινεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι ὡς τὸ τέλειον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας

[1] The manuscripts have *πνεύματος*, which may be right. The current may have given the impression that it was caused by an on-shore wind. We could perhaps translate: "as if a strong wind was blowing toward the shore." The reading in the text is that of Fischer.

tonishing ebbings and flowings in the Ocean.[1] In 326/5 B.C.
the former case, many large and unsuspected islands appeared along the coast, but in the latter all such places were flooded over as a copious and strong current bore in towards the land, while the surface of the water was white with much foam. But their most remarkable experience was an encounter with a large school of incredibly big whales.[2] The sailors had been terrified and despaired of their lives, thinking that they would be dashed to pieces immediately ships and all. But when they all shouted in unison, beating upon their shields to make a great din, and the trumpets were blown loudly in addition, the beasts were alarmed by the strange noise and plunged into the depths of the sea.

107. After this recital, the king ordered the officers of the fleet to sail on to the Euphrates,[3] while he continued on a great distance with the army, and came to the frontier of Susianê. Here the Indian Caranus,[4] who had advanced far in philosophy and was highly regarded by Alexander, put a remarkable end to his life. He had lived for seventy-three years without ever having experienced an illness, and now decided to remove himself from life, since he had received the utmost limit of happiness both from

[1] Others described the ocean tides at the mouth of the Indus (Curtius, 9. 9. 9-25; Arrian, 6. 19. 1).

[2] Curtius, 10. 1. 11-12. The description is from Nearchus (Arrian, *Indica*, 30. 4-5).

[3] This order to Nearchus would have been better given in Carmania than at Susa. Cp. Arrian, 6. 28. 6. At all events, in the narrative of Diodorus Alexander is not yet in Susa.

[4] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 69. 3-4; Arrian, 7. 2. 4–3. 6. The name is usually given as Calanus (as Strabo, 15. 1. 64. 715; 68. 717). For the vogue of the story in antiquity cp. M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* (1959), 178 f.

παρά τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπειληφώς.
3 καταπειραθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀρρωστίας καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν
αἰεὶ μᾶλλον βαρυνόμενος ἠξίωσε τὸν βασιλέα πυρὰν
αὐτῷ μεγάλην κατασκευάσαι καὶ προσαναβάντος
ἐπὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις πῦρ
ἐνεῖναι.
4 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀποτρέ-
πειν ἐπειρᾶτο ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ὡς δ᾽ οὐχ
ὑπήκουσεν, ὡμολόγησε συντελέσειν περὶ ὧν ἠξιω-
κὼς ἦν. διαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς πράξεως ἡ μὲν πυρὰ
κατεσκευάσθη, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος κατήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν
5 παράδοξον θέαν. ὁ δὲ Κάρανος ἀκολουθήσας τοῖς
ἰδίοις δόγμασι τεθαρρηκότως ἐπέστη τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ
μετὰ ταύτης καταφλεχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. τῶν δὲ
παρόντων οἱ μὲν μανίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, οἱ δὲ
κενοδοξίαν ἐπὶ καρτερίᾳ, τινὲς δὲ τὴν εὐψυχίαν καὶ
τὴν τοῦ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐθαύμασαν.
6 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον μὲν ἔθαψε πολυτελῶς,
αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Σοῦσα[1] τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν
τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων Στάτειραν ἔγημεν, τὴν δὲ
νεωτέραν Ἡφαιστίωνι συνῴκισε Δρυπῆτιν.[2] ἔπεισε
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν φίλων γῆμαι καὶ
συνῴκισεν αὐτοῖς τὰς εὐγενεστάτας παρθένους
Περσίδας.

108. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἧκον εἰς τὰ Σοῦσα
τρισμύριοι τῶν Περσῶν, νέοι μὲν παντελῶς ταῖς
ἡλικίαις, ἐπιλελεγμένοι δὲ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων
2 εὐπρεπείαις τε καὶ ῥώμαις. κατὰ δέ τινας ἐντολὰς
τοῦ βασιλέως ἠθροισμένοι, χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἐπιστάτας

[1] Σούσαν RX. [2] Δρυπίτην F.

[1] Curtius, 10. 3. 11-12; Justin, 12. 10. 9-10; Plutarch,

nature and from Fortune. He had been taken ill and 326/5 B.C.
each day becoming more exhausted he asked the king to erect for him a huge pyre and, after he had ascended it, to order the attendants to ignite it.

At first Alexander tried to dissuade him from this plan, but when he was unsuccessful, he agreed to do what was asked. After the project had become generally known, the pyre was erected, and everybody came to see the remarkable sight. True to his own creed, Caranus cheerfully mounted the pyre and perished, consumed along with it. Some of those who were present thought him mad, others vainglorious about his ability to bear pain, while others simply marvelled at his fortitude and contempt for death.

The king gave Caranus a magnificent funeral and then proceeded to Susa, where he married Stateira, the elder daughter of Dareius, and gave her younger sister Drypetis as wife to Hephaestion. He prevailed upon the most prominent of his Friends to take wives also, and gave them in marriage the noblest Persian ladies.[1]

108. Now there came to Susa at this time a body of thirty thousand Persians, all very young and selected for their bodily grace and strength.[2] They had been enrolled in compliance with the king's

Alexander, 70. 2; Arrian, 7. 4. 4-8. There were one hundred couples (Plutarch, *De Fortuna aut Virtute Alexandri*, 1. 7. 329 E). Justin and Plutarch report that Alexander married Stateira; Arrian names Barsinê and Parysatis. This marriage was described in detail by Chares, Alexander's minister of protocol (Athenaeus, 12. 538 b–539 a).

[2] Arrian, 7. 6. 1; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 71. 1. Curtius (8. 5. 1) mentions the organization of this force in Bactria in 327; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 47. 3) places it in Hyrcania in 330.

καὶ διδασκάλους ἐσχηκότες τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, πάντες δὲ Μακεδονικαῖς πανοπλίαις πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένοι, παρεμβολὴν μὲν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπιδειξάμενοι δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄσκησιν καὶ μελέτην ἐτιμήθησαν δια-
3 φερόντως. τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ διάβασιν ἀντειπόντων καὶ πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καταβοώντων καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἄμμωνος γένεσιν διασυρόντων τοῦτο[1] τὸ σύστημα κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ μιᾶς μὲν ἡλικίας τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ὁμοίας συνεστηκός, δυνάμενον δὲ ἀντίταγμα γενέσθαι τῇ Μακεδονικῇ φάλαγγι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

4 Ἅρπαλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θησαυρῶν καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐστράτευσεν, ἀπέγνω τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτοῦ, δοὺς δ' ἑαυτὸν εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολλῆς χώρας ἀποδεδειγμένος σατράπης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς ὕβρεις γυναικῶν καὶ παρανόμους ἔρωτας βαρβάρων ἐξετράπη καὶ πολλὰ τῆς γάζης ἀκρατεστάταις ἡδοναῖς κατανάλωσεν,[2] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης πολὺ διάστημα κομίζων ἰχθύων πλῆθος καὶ δίαιταν πολυδάπανον ἐνιστάμενος

[1] τούτων F. [2] κατηνάλωσεν F.

[1] The account of the mutiny at Opis is broken by Diodorus into two sections; cp. chap. 109. 1 below. The full accounts are Curtius, 10. 2. 8–4. 3; Justin, 12. 11. 5–12. 7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 71. 1-5; Arrian, 7. 8-11. "Ganges" is a slip (chap. 94).

[2] Justin, 12. 11. 6; Arrian, 7. 8. 3.

[3] The Harpalus story was well known (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 41. 4; *Phocion*, 21-22; Justin, 13. 5. 9), but was told

orders and had been under supervisors and teachers of the arts of war for as long as necessary. They were splendidly equipped with the full Macedonian armament and encamped before the city, where they were warmly commended by the king after demonstrating their skill and discipline in the use of their weapons. The Macedonians had not only mutinied when ordered to cross the Ganges River but were frequently unruly when called into an assembly[1] and ridiculed Alexander's pretence that Ammon was his father.[2] For these reasons Alexander had formed this unit from a single age-group of the Persians which was capable of serving as a counter-balance to the Macedonian phalanx. 326/5 B.C.

These were the concerns of Alexander.

Harpalus had been given the custody of the treasury in Babylon and of the revenues which accrued to it, but as soon as the king had carried his campaign into India, he assumed that Alexander would never come back, and gave himself up to comfortable living.[3] Although he had been charged as satrap[4] with the administration of a great country, he first occupied himself with the abuse of women and illegitimate amours with the natives and squandered much of the treasure under his control on incontinent pleasure. He fetched all the long way from the Red Sea a great quantity of fish and introduced an extravagant way of life, so that he came under general criticism.

here, in addition to Diodorus, only by Curtius. In the loss of parts of that text, only the end of the story remains (10. 2. 1-3), told in a similar way to that here. The account of these events in Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 25-26, may plausibly be ascribed to Theopompus, at least in part.

[4] Harpalus was not actually a satrap, but director general of the royal treasury.

5 ἐβλασφημεῖτο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἑταιρῶν ὄνομα Πυθονίκην μετεπέμψατο καὶ ζῶσάν τε αὐτὴν βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε καὶ μεταλλάξασαν ἔθαψε πολυτελῶς καὶ τάφον κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατεσκεύασε πολυδάπανον.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλην ἑταίραν Ἀττικὴν ὄνομα Γλυκέραν[1] μεταπεμψάμενος ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυδαπάνῳ διαιτήματι διεξῆγεν· εἰς δὲ τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης καταφυγὰς ποριζόμενος εὐεργέτει τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπάνοδον πολλοὺς τῶν σατραπῶν κατηγορηθέντας ἀνελόντος φοβηθεὶς τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ συσκευασάμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, μισθοφόρους δ' ἀθροίσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ
7 κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. οὐδενὸς δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους ἀπέλιπε περὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ μέρος τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλαβὼν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου. ἐξαιτούμενος δὲ ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦσι ῥήτορσι διέδρα καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς Ταίναρον
8 πρὸς τοὺς μισθοφόρους. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Κρήτην ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος ἑνὸς τῶν φίλων ἐδολοφονήθη. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν τοῦ Ἁρπάλου χρημάτων λόγον

[1] ἢ ὄνομα Γλυκέρα RX.

[1] She is mentioned by Athenaeus, 13. 586 c, who refers to accounts of her by Theopompus and Cleitarchus.

Later, moreover, he sent and brought from Athens the most dazzling courtesan of the day, whose name was Pythonicê.[1] As long as she lived he gave her gifts worthy of a queen, and when she died, he gave her a magnificent funeral and erected over her grave a costly monument of the Attic type. 326/5 B.C.

After that, he brought out a second Attic courtesan named Glycera [2] and kept her in exceeding luxury, providing her with a way of life which was fantastically expensive. At the same time, with an eye on the uncertainties of fortune, he established himself a place of refuge by benefactions to the Athenians.

When Alexander did come back from India and put to death many of the satraps who had been charged with neglect of duty, Harpalus became alarmed at the punishment which might befall him. He packed up five thousand talents of silver, enrolled six thousand mercenaries, departed from Asia and sailed across to Attica. When no one there accepted him, he shipped his troops off to Taenarum in Laconia, and keeping some of the money with him threw himself on the mercy of the Athenians. Antipater and Olympias demanded his surrender, and although he had distributed large sums of money to those persons who spoke in his favour, he was compelled to slip away and repaired to Taenarum and his mercenaries. Subsequently he sailed over to Crete, where he was murdered by Thibron, one of his Friends.[3] At Athens, an accounting was undertaken of the funds of Har-

[2] Athenaeus, 13. 586 c. The considerable evidence on these two is collected by Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, nos. 231 and 676.

[3] Curtius, 10. 2. 1-3; Book 18. 19. 2. The collaboration of Antipater and Olympias is odd, for they were ordinarily hostile to each other.

ἀναζητοῦντες Δημοσθένην καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ῥητόρων κατεδίκασαν ὡς εἰληφότας τῶν Ἁρπάλου χρημάτων.

109. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὄντων ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς φυγάδας πάντας εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατιέναι πλὴν τῶν ἱεροσύλων καὶ φονέων. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν
2 ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας, ὄντας ὡς μυρίους. πυνθανόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι καταδανείους ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τὰ δάνεια βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων διέλυσεν.

Τῶν δ' ἀπολειπομένων Μακεδόνων ἀπειθούντων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταβοώντων παροξυνθεὶς κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν τεθαρρηκότως. καταπληξάμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸς καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους[1] τῆς ταραχῆς ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις πρὸς τὴν
3 τιμωρίαν. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐξανομένης ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐκλελεγμένων Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας κατέστησε καὶ τούτους προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον· οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες μετανοήσαντες καὶ

[1] *αἰτίους* RX.

---

[1] Justin, 13. 5. 9.

[2] Curtius, 10. 2. 4-7; Justin, 13. 5. 2-5. Diodorus refers to this later with greater detail as one of the causes of the Lamian War (Book 18. 8. 2-7). The time was midsummer of 324 B.C.

[3] This story appears in differing versions. Curtius (10. 2. 9-11) tells only of the payment of the debts, without specifying either the number or the identity of the beneficiaries; 10,000 talents were made available, and 130 were left over. Justin (12. 11. 2-3) says that 20,000 talents were distributed,

palus, and Demosthenes and certain other statesmen were convicted of having accepted money from this source.[1] 326/5 B.C.

109. While the Olympic Games were being celebrated, Alexander had it proclaimed in Olympia that all exiles should return to their cities, except those who had been charged with sacrilege or murder.[2] He selected the oldest of his soldiers who were Macedonians and released them from service; there were ten thousand of these. He learned that many of them were in debt, and in a single day he paid their obligations, which were little short of ten thousand talents.[3]

The Macedonians who remained with him were becoming insubordinate, and when he called them to an assembly, they interrupted him by shouting.[4] In a fury, he denounced them without regard to his own personal risk; then, having cowed the throng, he leaped down from the platform, seized the ringleaders of the tumult with his own hands, and handed them over to his attendants for punishment.[5] This made the soldiers' hostility even more acute, so that the king appointed generals from specially selected Persians and advanced them into positions of responsibility. At this, the Macedonians were repen-

an act equally welcome to debtors and creditors. Plutarch (*Alexander*, 70. 2) uses the same total as Curtius (9870), but says that these were the debts of the guests at the mass marriage in Susa. Curtius expresses astonishment that the soldiers were so in debt. (From whom, as a matter of fact, would ten thousand soldiers borrow a talent each?) At all events, Arrian (7. 12. 1) states specifically that the soldiers were Macedonian and each received a gift of a talent.

[4] The mutiny at Opis, continued from chap. 108. 3.

[5] Curtius, 10. 2. 30; Justin, 12. 11. 8. Arrian (7. 8. 3) says that he merely pointed out the ringleaders.

πολλὰ μετὰ δακρύων δεηθέντες μόγις ἔπεισαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς διαλλαγῆναι.

110. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντικλέους Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον καὶ Κόιντον Ποπίλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς[1] τὸν τῶν ἀπολελυμένων ἀριθμὸν ἀνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ χιλίους αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἔταξεν ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐχ ἧττους εἰς πίστιν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑπέλαβεν.
2 ἧκεν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Πευκέστης ἄγων Πέρσας τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας δισμυρίους· καταμίξας δὲ τούτους τοῖς προϋπάρχουσι στρατιώταις τῇ καινότητι τῆς καινοτομίας κατεσκεύασε τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν κεκραμένην καὶ ἁρμόζουσαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει.

3 Τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων γεγεννηκότων υἱοὺς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παίδων ἀκριβῶς ἐσκέψατο, ὄντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν μυρίων ἅπασι τὰς ἁρμοζούσας πρὸς τροφὴν ἐλευθέριον συντάξεις ἀπομερίσας τούτοις μὲν παιδευτὰς ἐπέστησε τοὺς διδάξοντας τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν παιδείαν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐκ τῶν

[1] The preposition has been deleted by editors, but cp. *SEG* [3], 364. 61/2; Alexander's army was filled "to the number of the losses."

---

[1] Anticles was archon at Athens from July 325 to June 324 B.C. L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Publilius Philo were consuls in 327 B.C. (Broughton, 1. 145). In his narrative, Diodorus has reached, actually, the late summer of 324 B.C.

tant. Weeping, they urgently petitioned Alexander to forgive them, and with difficulty persuaded him to take them back into favour. 326/5 B.C.

110. In the archonship of Anticles at Athens, the Romans installed as consuls Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Popillius.[1] In this year Alexander secured replacements from the Persians equal to the number of these soldiers whom he had released, and assigned a thousand of them to the bodyguards[2] stationed at the court. In all respects he showed the same confidence in them as in the Macedonians. At this time Peucestes arrived with twenty thousand Persian bowmen and slingers. Alexander placed these in units with his other soldiers, and by the novelty of this innovation created a force blended and adjusted to his own idea.[3] 325/4 B.C.

Since there were by now sons of the Macedonians born of captive women, he determined the exact number of these. There were about ten thousand, and he set aside for them revenues sufficient to provide them with an upbringing proper for freeborn children, and set over them teachers to give them their proper training.[4]

After this he marched with his army from Susa,

The narrative of Curtius is lost down to the story of Alexander's death.

[2] Arrian (7. 6. 3) states that these thousand formed a fifth squadron of the Companion Cavalry.

[3] Peucestes had been rewarded with the satrapy of Persia after saving Alexander's life (chap. 99. 4). Of all Alexander's generals he showed the greatest willingness to conciliate the Persians. Arrian has described these new units earlier (7. 11. 3-4) but places this event a year later (7. 23. 1).

[4] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 71. 5; Arrian, 7. 12 (stating that these were the children of the veterans who returned to Macedonia); Justin, 12. 4. 6 (under 330 B.C.).

Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Τίγριν ἐν ταῖς Κάραις
4 καλουμέναις κώμαις κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἑξῆς δ' ἐν ἡμέραις τέτταρσι τὴν Σιττακινὴν[1] διανύσας ἧκεν εἰς τὰ καλούμενα Σάμβανα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μείνας ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ προσαναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν τριταῖος εἰς τοὺς Κέλωνας προσαγορευομένους ἧκεν, ἐν ᾧ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει γένος Βοιώτιον, κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ἀνάστατον γεγονός, μεμνη-
5 μένον δ' ἔτι τῶν πατρίων νόμων· ὄντες γὰρ οὗτοι δίφωνοι τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἐξωμοιώθησαν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ πλείστας τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λέξεων διετήρουν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔνια διεφύλαττον.

Τέλος δὲ προσμείνας ἡμέρας . . .[2] ἀνέζευξε καὶ παρεγκλίνας τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὁδὸν θέας ἕνεκεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Βαγιστάνην, θεοπρεπεστάτην τε χώραν οὖσαν καὶ πλήρη καρπίμων δένδρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπό-
6 λαυσιν ἀνηκόντων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθὼν εἴς τινα χώραν δυναμένην ἐκτρέφειν ἀγέλας παμπληθεῖς ἵππων, ἐν ᾗ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔφασαν ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἵππων γεγονέναι φορβάδων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρουσίαν ἓξ μόναι μυριάδες ἠριθμήθησαν, ἐνταῦθα διαμείνας ἡμέρας τριάκοντα ἑβδο-

[1] Σίτταν RX; Σίττα F, but cp. chap. 65. 2. The correction was made by Wesseling.
[2] A numeral has dropped out here.

---

[1] Diodorus's topography is confused. His tradition (shared by Curtius) does not place the mutiny at Opis, as does Arrian; hence Alexander is still at Susa. The "Carian" villages were in Babylonia (Book 19. 12. 1) and so on the right bank of the Tigris; Sittacenê was on the left bank (chap. 65. 2). The location of Sambana is unknown. Perhaps Alexander

crossed the Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Carae. Thence for four days he marched through Sittacenê and came to the place called Sambana.[1] There he remained seven days and, proceeding with the army, came on the third day to the Celones, as they are called. There dwells here down to our time a settlement of Boeotians who were moved in the time of Xerxes's campaign, but still have not forgotten their ancestral customs. They are bilingual and speak like the natives in the one language, while in the other they preserve most of the Greek vocabulary, and they maintain some Greek practices.[2] 325/4 B.C.

After a stay of some days he resumed his march at length and diverging from the main road[3] for the purpose of sight-seeing he entered the region called Bagistanê, a magnificent country covered with fruit trees and rich in everything which makes for good living. Next he came to a land which could support enormous herds of horses, where of old they say that there were one hundred and sixty thousand horses grazing, but at the time of Alexander's visit there were counted only sixty thousand.[4] After a stay of thirty days he resumed the march and on the seventh

crossed the Tigris twice. By "Tigris" in the text is not meant the Pasitigris (chap. 67. 1), which was south-east of Susa; the city was on the Choaspes and Eulaeus Rivers (Strabo, 15. 3. 4. 728).

[2] These are probably the Eretrians whom Herodotus mentions (6. 119) as having been carried off by Xerxes, although he places them nearer to Susa. The place is mentioned again, Book 19. 19. 2. In their tenacious Hellenism, they anticipated the settlers of the Hellenistic period (cp. F. Grosso, *Rivista di Filologia Classica*, 36 (1958), 350-375).

[3] The age-old road from Baghdad to Hamadan, the main route from Mesopotamia to Iran.

[4] This was Nysa. Arrian (7. 13. 1) gives slightly different figures: formerly 150,000 mares, now 50,000.

7 μαῖος διήνυσεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδείας. ταύτης δέ φασι διακοσίων μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ὑπάρχειν, βασίλεια δ' ἔχειν τῆς ὅλης Μηδείας καὶ θησαυροὺς πολλῶν χρημάτων.

Ἔνθα δὴ χρόνον τινὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἀγῶνάς τε θυμελικοὺς ἐποίει καὶ πότους συνεχεῖς τῶν
8 φίλων, ἐν οἷς Ἡφαιστίων ἀκαίροις μέθαις χρησάμενος[1] καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀρρωστίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἐνέγκας τὸ συμβὰν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Περδίκκᾳ παρέδωκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα κομίσαι, βουλόμενος ἐπιφανεστάτην αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ταφήν.

111. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταραχαὶ συνίσταντο καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν κινήσεις, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Λαμιακὸς πόλεμος κληθεὶς ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκ τοιαύτης τινὸς αἰτίας. τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος τοῖς σατράπαις ἅπασιν ἀπομίσθους ποιῆσαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τούτων τὸ πρόσταγμα συντελεσάντων πολλοὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀπολελυμένοι ξένοι διέτρεχον καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἀσίαν πλανώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τροφὰς ἐκ τῶν προνομῶν πορίζόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πανταχόθεν
2 διῆραν[2] ἐπὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν σατραπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων οἱ περιλειφθέντες χρήματά τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον καὶ κοινὴν δύναμιν
3 ἤθροιζον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Λεωσθένην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ἄνδρα ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διάφορον καὶ μάλιστ' ἀντικείμενον τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράγμασιν, εἵλοντο στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα. οὗτος δὲ τῇ

day came to Ecbatana of Media. They say that its 325/4 B.C.
circuit is two hundred and fifty stades. It contains the palace which is the capital of all Media and storehouses filled with great wealth.

Here he refreshed his army for some time and staged a dramatic festival, accompanied by constant drinking parties among his friends. In the course of these, Hephaestion drank very much, fell ill, and died. The king was intensely grieved at this and entrusted his body to Perdiccas to conduct to Babylon, where he proposed to celebrate a magnificent funeral for him.[1]

111. During this period Greece was the scene of disturbances and revolutionary movements from which arose the war called Lamian.[2] The reason was this. The king had ordered all his satraps to dissolve their armies of mercenaries,[3] and as they obeyed his instructions, all Asia was overrun with soldiers released from service and supporting themselves by plunder. Presently they began assembling from all directions at Taenarum in Laconia, whither came also such of the Persian satraps and generals as had survived, bringing their funds and their soldiers, so that they constituted a joint force. Ultimately they chose as supreme commander the Athenian Leosthenes, who was a man of unusually brilliant mind, and thoroughtly opposed to the cause of Alexander.

[1] Justin, 12. 12. 11 ; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 72 ; Arrian, 7. 14.

[2] Justin, 13. 5. 1-8. The war did not actually break out until after Alexander's death, and Diodorus gives an account of it later (Book 18. 8 ff.) which repeats some of this material.

[3] Cp. chap. 106. 3.

[1] ἐν οἷς καιροῖς τῶν φίλων Ἡφαιστίων μέθαις χρησάμενος RX.
[2] ἀπῆραν F.

βουλῇ διαλεχθεὶς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις πεντήκοντα μὲν ἔλαβε τάλαντα πρὸς τὴν μισθοδοσίαν, ὅπλων δὲ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν εἰς[1] τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας, πρὸς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ συμμαχίας διεπρεσβεύσατο καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

4 Λεωσθένης μὲν οὖν προορώμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου περὶ ταῦτα διέτριβεν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Κοσσαίων ἀπειθούντων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐζώνῳ τῇ δυνάμει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος ἀλκῇ διαφέρον κατοικεῖ μὲν τῆς Μηδείας τὴν ὀρεινήν, πεποιθὸς δὲ τῇ τῶν τόπων δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς οὐδέποτε δεσπότην ἔπηλυν προσεδέδεκτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν βασιλείαν διέμεινεν ἀνάλωτον καὶ τότε πεφρονηματισμένον

5 οὐ κατεπλάγη τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρετήν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προκαταλαβόμενος τὰς παρόδους καὶ τῆς Κοσσαίας τὴν πλείστην πορθήσας καὶ κατὰ πάσας τὰς συμπλοκὰς προτερῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βαρβάρων, πολλαπλασίους δ' ἐζώγρησεν.

Οἱ δὲ Κοσσαῖοι πάντῃ νικώμενοι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑαλωκότων χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἠναγκάσθησαν τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σωτηρίας τὴν δουλείαν

6 ἀλλάξασθαι. διὸ καὶ τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐτύγχανον εἰρήνης σὺν τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος[2] ἐν[3] ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις τεσσαράκοντα καταπολεμήσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ

[1] πρὸς RX. [2] βασιλεὺς F.

He conferred secretly with the council at Athens and 325/4 B.C.
was granted fifty talents to pay the troops and a stock of weapons sufficient to meet pressing needs. He sent off an embassy to the Aetolians, who were unfriendly to the king, looking to the establishment of an alliance with them, and otherwise made every preparation for war.

So Leosthenes was occupied with such matters, being in no doubt about the seriousness of the proposed conflict, but Alexander launched a campaign with a mobile force against the Cossaeans, for they would not submit to him.[1] This is a people outstanding in valour which occupied the mountains of Media; and relying upon the ruggedness of their country and their ability in war, they had never accepted a foreign master, but had remained unconquered throughout the whole period of the Persian kingdom, and now they were too proudly self-confident to be terrified of the Macedonian arms. The king, nevertheless, seized the routes of access into their country before they were aware of it, laid waste most of Cossaea, was superior in every engagement, and both slew many of the Cossaeans and captured many times more.

So the Cossaeans were utterly defeated, and, distressed at the number of their captives, were constrained to buy their recovery at the price of national submission. They placed themselves in Alexander's hands and were granted peace on condition that they should do his bidding. In forty days at most, he had

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 72. 3; Arrian 7. 15. 1-3. This activity took place in the winter of 324/3 B.C. and was intended to solace Alexander's grief for the death of Hephaestion.

[3] ἐν omitted by F.

πόλεις ἀξιολόγους ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις κτίσας ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν.[1]

* * *

112.[2] Ἀλέξανδρος καταπεπολεμηκὼς τὸ τῶν Κοσσαίων ἔθνος ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ προῆγεν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἀεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς στρατοπεδείας διαλείπων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαμβάνων
2 ἡσυχῇ προῆγεν. ἀπέχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους σταδίους τῆς Βαβυλῶνος οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καλούμενοι, μεγίστην μὲν δόξαν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ περιπεποιημένοι, διὰ δέ τινος αἰωνίου παρατηρήσεως προλέγειν εἰωθότες τὰ μέλλοντα, προεχειρίσαντο μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας, διὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων μαντείας γνόντες τὴν μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι προσέταξαν μηνῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ παρακελεύσασθαι[3] μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὴν
3 εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἴσοδον ποιήσασθαι· δύνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐὰν ἀναστήσῃ τὸν καθῃρημένον ὑπὸ Περσῶν τοῦ Βήλου τάφον καὶ τὴν βεβουλευμένην ὁδὸν ἐπιστήσας παρέλθῃ τὴν πόλιν.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποσταλέντων Χαλδαίων ὁ προκριθείς, ὄνομα Βελεφάντης, τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ συνελθεῖν εἰς λόγους οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τὸν φόβον, Νεάρχῳ δ'

[1] The abrupt ending of this paragraph, where we should expect at least the length of Alexander's stay, and the asyndetical beginning of chap. 112 coincide with the intrusion of an unwanted dating formula to indicate a lacuna in the archetype.

[2] The manuscripts begin this chapter with the words Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι . . . ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Λέντλος καὶ Κόιντος Ποπίλλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων. The archon's name is missing and the consuls are repeated from chap. 110.

[3] The manuscripts have παρασκευάσασθαι, which was corrected by Dindorf.

conquered this people. He founded strong cities at strategic points and rested his army. 325/4 B.C.

* * *

112. After the conclusion of his war with the Cossaeans, Alexander set his army in motion and marched towards Babylon in easy stages, interrupting the march frequently and resting the army.[1] While he was still three hundred furlongs from the city, the scholars called Chaldaeans, who have gained a great reputation in astrology and are accustomed to predict future events by a method based on age-long observations, chose from their number the eldest and most experienced. By the configuration of the stars they had learned of the coming death of the king in Babylon, and they instructed their representatives to report to the king the danger which threatened. They told their envoys also to urge upon the king that he must under no circumstances make his entry into the city; that he could escape the danger if he re-erected the tomb of Belus which had been demolished by the Persians,[2] but he must abandon his intended route and pass the city by.

The leader of the Chaldaean envoys, whose name was Belephantes,[3] was not bold enough to address the king directly but secured a private audience with

[1] Justin, 12. 13. 3-5; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 73. 1-2; Arrian, 7. 16. 5–18. 6.

[2] Arrian (7. 17. 1-4) makes the reverse statement, that the priests wanted to keep the revenues of the temple of Bel to themselves.

[3] The name is not otherwise reported.

ἑνὶ[1] τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλων κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντυχὼν καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀπαγγείλας ἠξίου δηλῶσαι τῷ
4 βασιλεῖ. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Νεάρχου τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων πρόρρησιν κατεπλάγη καὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δόξαν ἀναλογιζόμενος ἐταράττετο τὴν ψυχήν. τέλος δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀποστείλας εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς εἰς ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν μεταβαλὼν[2] παρήλλαξε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν.

Πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων ἧκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ
5 περὶ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον. οὗτοι δὲ μαθόντες τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας χρησάμενοι λόγοις ἐνεργῶς τοσοῦτον μετέθηκαν αὐτὸν ὥστε καταφρονῆσαι μὲν πάσης μαντικῆς, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρὰ Χαλδαίοις προτιμωμένης. διόπερ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡσπερεὶ τετρωμένος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τοῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑγιασθεὶς λόγοις,[3] εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
6 εἰσῆλθεν. τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, φιλανθρώπως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντες ὥρμησαν πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ τρυφήν, πολλῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρεσκευασμένης δαψιλείας.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[1] δέ τινι F.
[2] εἰς ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν παρήλλαξε RX; εἰς ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν μεταπαρήλλαξε F. Some participle such as μεταβαλὼν (Fischer) had apparently been lost.
[3] ὑπαχθεὶς λόγοις RX; λόγοις ὑγιασθείς F.

Nearchus, one of Alexander's Friends, and told him everything in detail, requesting him to make it known to the king. When Alexander, accordingly, learned from Nearchus[1] about the Chaldaeans' prophecy, he was alarmed and more and more disturbed, the more he reflected upon the ability and high reputation of these people. After some hesitation, he sent most of his Friends into Babylon, but altered his own route so as to avoid the city and set up his headquarters in a camp at a distance of two hundred furlongs.[2] 325/4 B.C.

This act caused general astonishment and many of the Greeks came to see him, notably among the philosophers Anaxarchus.[3] When they discovered the reason for his action, they plied him with arguments drawn from philosophy and changed him to the degree that he came to despise all prophetic arts, and especially that which was held in high regard by the Chaldaeans.[4] It was as if the king had been wounded in his soul and then healed by the words of the philosophers, so that he now entered Babylon with his army. As on the previous occasion,[5] the population received the troops hospitably, and all turned their attention to relaxation and pleasure, since everything necessary was available in profusion.

These were the events of this year.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 73. 1.
[2] Arrian does not think that Alexander heeded the warnings of the Chaldeans, but quotes Aristobulus (7. 17. 5-6) to the effect that Alexander did wish to avoid the city, but could not pass it because of the swamps.
[3] Justin, 12. 13. 5. This was the celebrated philosopher of Abdera, of the school of Democritus. He had been with Alexander throughout the campaign.
[4] That is, astrology. It is odd that Diodorus should speak so well of Greek rationalism, when in this case the Chaldaeans knew better.
[5] Cp. chap. 64. 4.

113. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγησίου Ῥω-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Πόπλιον καὶ
Παπίριον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς
ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Μικίνας
Ῥόδιος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐξ ἁπάσης
σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἧκον πρέσβεις, οἱ μὲν συγ-
χαίροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν, οἱ δὲ στεφα-
νοῦντες, ἄλλοι δὲ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας τιθέμενοι,
πολλοὶ δὲ δωρεὰς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς κομίζοντες, τινὲς
2 δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ἀπολογούμενοι. χωρὶς
γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ
δυναστῶν, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ
Λιβύης κατήντησαν, ἐκ μὲν Λιβύης Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ
Λιβυφοίνικες καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν παράλιον οἰκοῦντες
μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης
αἵ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ Μακε-
δόνες, ἔτι δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν
οἰκούντων οἱ πλείους, τά τε Θρᾴκια γένη καὶ τῶν
πλησιοχώρων Γαλατῶν, ὧν τότε πρῶτον τὸ γένος
ἐγνώσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
3 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπογραφὴν λαβὼν τῶν πρέσ-
βεων διέταξε τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις διδόναι τὰς ἀποκρί-
σεις καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἅπασι. καὶ πρώτοις μὲν ἐχρη-
μάτισε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν παραγεγενημένοις,
δευτέροις δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἥκουσιν, ἑξῆς
δὲ τοῖς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους,

[1] Hegesias (as the name appears in the Attic inscriptions) was archon from July 324 to June 323 B.C. The consuls of 326 B.C. were C. Poetelius Libo Visolus and L. Papirius Cursor (Broughton, 1. 146). The Olympic Games were held in the summer of 324 B.C. (chap. 109. 1). The name of the victor is given as Macinnas by Eusebius. The time was actually the spring of 323 B.C.

113. When Agesias was archon at Athens, the 324/3 B.C.
Romans installed as consuls Gaius Publius and Papirius, and the one hundred and fourteenth celebration of the Olympic Games took place, in which Micinas of Rhodes won the foot race.[1] Now from practically all the inhabited world came envoys on various missions, some congratulating Alexander on his victories, some bringing him crowns, others concluding treaties of friendship and alliance, many bringing handsome presents, and some prepared to defend themselves against accusations. Apart from the tribes and cities as well as the local rulers of Asia, many of their counterparts in Europe and Libya put in an appearance; from Libya, Carthaginians and Libyphoenicians and all those who inhabit the coast as far as the Pillars of Heracles; from Europe, the Greek cities and the Macedonians also sent embassies, as well as the Illyrians and most of those who dwell about the Adriatic Sea, the Thracian peoples and even those of their neighbours the Gauls, whose people became known then first in the Greek world.[2]

Alexander drew up a list of the embassies and arranged a schedule of those to whom first he would give his reply and then the others in sequence.[3] First he heard those who came on matters concerning religion; second, those who brought gifts; next, those who had disputes with their neighbours; fourth,

[2] Justin, 12. 13. 1-2; Arrian, 7. 15. 4-6 (embassies from the west); 19. 1-2 (embassies from the Greeks). Arrian (7. 15. 5-6) expresses doubt about the embassy from Rome, reported among others by Cleitarchus (Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 137, F 31; from Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 3. 57).

[3] These ingenious and methodical arrangements of Alexander's court are not otherwise reported.

τετάρτοις δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἥκουσι, πέμπτοις δὲ τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσι περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν
4 φυγάδων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἠλείοις πρώτοις ἐχρημάτισεν, εἶτα Ἀμμωνιεῦσι καὶ Δελφοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις, ἔτι δὲ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἱερῶν προκρίνων τὰς ἐντεύξεις. πάσαις δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις φιλοτιμηθεὶς κεχαρισμένας δοῦναι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εὐαρεστουμένας ἀπέλυσε κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

114. Ἀπολύσας δὲ τὰς πρεσβείας περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος. τοσαύτην δὲ σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ἐπιμέλειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς προγεγενημένας παρ' ἀνθρώποις ταφὰς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις μηδεμίαν ὑπέρθεσιν καταλιπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν μάλιστα[1] τῶν ἐν στοργῇ φίλων δοξαζομένων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ἀνυπερβλήτως. ζῶντα μὲν γὰρ προετίμησε πάντων τῶν φίλων, καίπερ Κρατεροῦ φιλίαν ἔχοντος ἐνά-
2 μιλλον. ἐπεὶ γάρ τις τῶν ἑταίρων εἶπεν μηδὲν καταδεέστερον Ἡφαιστίωνος τὸν Κρατερὸν στέργεσθαι, ἐπεφθέγξατο Κρατερὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φιλοβασιλέα, Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ φιλαλέξανδρον. τῆς δὲ Δαρείου μητρὸς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔντευξιν διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν προσκυνούσης τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα ὡς ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν διατρεπομένης εἶπεν, Μηδὲν φροντίσῃς, ὦ μῆτερ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Καθόλου γὰρ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας

[1] μάλιστα Reiske; αὐτὸν ταῖς τῶν R; αὐτὸν τῶν XF.

those who had problems concerning themselves alone; 324/3 B.C.
and fifth, those who wished to present arguments against receiving back their exiles. He dealt with the Eleians first, then with the Ammonians and the Delphians and the Corinthians, as well as with the Epidaurians and the rest, receiving their petitions in the order of importance of the sanctuaries. In all cases he made every effort to deliver replies which would be gratifying, and sent everyone away content so far as he was able.

114. When the embassies had been dismissed, Alexander threw himself into preparations for the burial of Hephaestion. He showed such zeal about the funeral that it not only surpassed all those previously celebrated on earth but also left no possibility for anything greater in later ages. He had loved Hephaestion most of the group of Friends who were thought to have been high in his affections, and after his death showed him superlative honour. In his lifetime, he had preferred him to all, although Craterus had a rival claim to his love; so, for example, that when one of the companions said that Craterus was loved no less than Hephaestion, Alexander had answered that Craterus was king-loving, but Hephaestion was Alexander-loving.[1] At their first meeting with Dareius's mother, when she from ignorance had bowed to Hephaestion supposing him to be the king and was distressed when this was called to her attention, Alexander had said: "Never mind, mother. For actually he too is Alexander."[2]

As a matter of fact, Hephaestion enjoyed so much

[1] That is, Craterus loved Alexander as the king, Hephaestion loved Alexander for himself. On the relations between Craterus and Hephaestion cp. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 47. 5-7.
[2] Cp. chap. 37. 5-6.

καὶ φιλικῆς ἐκοινώνει παρρησίας ὡς τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀλλοτρίως ἐχούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιτιμώσης αὐτῷ σκληρότερον καὶ ἀπειλούσης τά τε ἄλλα γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιπληκτικῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπὶ τελευτῆς θεῖναι ταῦτα· Καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς παύου διαβαλλομένη καὶ μὴ χαλέπαινε μηδὲ ἀπείλει· εἰ δὲ μή, μετρίως ἡμῖν μελήσει· οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος κρείττων ἁπάντων.

4 Ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκφορὰν παρασκευαζόμενος ταῖς μὲν πλησίον πόλεσι προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κόσμον, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσι προσέταξεν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἱερὸν πῦρ καλούμενον ἐπιμελῶς σβέσαι, μέχρι ἂν τελέσῃ τὴν ἐκφοράν· τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν κατὰ
5 τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τελευτάς. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαλεπὸν οἰωνὸν ἐτίθετο τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὑπελάμβανον προσημαίνειν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα παράδοξα προδηλοῦντα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, περὶ ὧν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς λόγον ἀποδῶμεν.

115. Τῶν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων ἕκαστος στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρεσκείας κατεσκεύαζεν εἴδωλα δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἀθροίσας καὶ λεπτουργῶν πλῆθος τοῦ

[1] Hephaestion's usage here suggests the *pluralis majestatis*. He can hardly mean anyone but himself.

power and freedom of speech based on this friendship 324/3 B.C.
that when Olympias was estranged from him because of jealousy and wrote sharp criticisms and threats against him in her letters, he felt strong enough to answer her reproachfully and ended his letter as follows: "Stop quarrelling with us and do not be angry or menacing. If you persist, we [1] shall not be much disturbed. You know that Alexander means more to us than anything."

As part of the preparations for the funeral, the king ordered the cities of the region to contribute to its splendour in accordance with their ability, and he proclaimed to all the peoples of Asia that they should sedulously quench what the Persians call the sacred fire, until such time as the funeral should be ended. This was the custom of the Persians when their kings died, and people thought that the order was an ill omen, and that heaven was foretelling the king's own death. There were also at this time other strange signs pointing to the same event, as we shall relate shortly, after we have finished the account of the funeral.[2]

115. Each of the generals and Friends tried to meet the king's desires and made likenesses of Hephaestion in ivory and gold and other materials which men hold in high regard.[3] Alexander collected artisans and an army of workmen and tore down the city wall to a

[2] A similar account of Hephaestion's funeral was probably given by Curtius and is now lost from the manuscript of book 10. The references in Justin (12. 12. 12), Plutarch (*Alexander*, 72), and Arrian (7. 14) are briefer, and locate it before, not after, the Cossaean campaign. See Addenda.

[3] These were probably medallions or small images to be worn in wreaths, as one wore images of the gods. It was a common ancient practice, employed later in the case of the Hellenistic kings and the Roman emperors.

μὲν τείχους καθεῖλεν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους, τὴν δ' ὀπτὴν πλίνθον ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον τὴν πυρὰν τόπον ὁμαλὸν κατασκευάσας ᾠκοδόμησε τετράπλευρον πυράν, σταδιαίας οὔσης ἑκάστης
2 πλευρᾶς. εἰς τριάκοντα δὲ δόμους διελόμενος τὸν τόπον καὶ καταστρώσας τὰς ὀροφὰς φοινίκων στελέχεσι τετράγωνον ἐποίησε πᾶν τὸ κατασκεύασμα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιετίθει τῷ περιβόλῳ παντὶ κόσμον, οὗ τὴν μὲν κρηπῖδα χρυσαῖ πεντηρικαὶ πρῷραι συνεπλήρουν, οὖσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν διακόσιαι τεσσαράκοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπωτίδων ἔχουσαι δύο μὲν τοξότας εἰς γόνυ κεκαθικότας τετραπήχεις, ἀνδριάντας δὲ πενταπήχεις καθωπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ μεταξὺ τόπους φοινικίδες ἀνεπλήρουν πιληταί.
3 ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων τὴν δευτέραν ἐπανεῖχον χώραν λαμπάδες πεντεκαιδεκαπήχεις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν λαβὴν ἔχουσαι χρυσοῦς στεφάνους, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἀετοὺς διαπεπετακότας[1] τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ κάτω νεύοντας, παρὰ δὲ τὰς βάσεις δράκοντας ἀφορῶντας τοὺς ἀετούς.[2] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην περιφορὰν κατεσκεύαστο ζῴων παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος κυνηγουμένων.
4 ἔπειτα ἡ μὲν τετάρτη χώρα κενταυρομαχίαν χρυσῆν εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ πέμπτη λέοντας καὶ ταύρους ἐναλλὰξ χρυσοῦς. τὸ δ' ἀνώτερον μέρος ἐπεπλήρωτο[3] Μακεδονικῶν καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ὅπλων, ὧν μὲν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ὧν δὲ τὰς ἥττας σημαινόντων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐφειστήκεισαν Σειρῆνες διάκοιλοι καὶ δυνάμεναι λεληθότως δέξασθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ὄντας καὶ ᾄδοντας ἐπικήδιον θρῆνον τῷ τετελευτηκότι.

[1] διαπεπτακότας RX. [2] περὶ τοὺς ἀετούς F.

distance of ten furlongs. He collected the baked tiles and levelled off the place which was to receive the pyre, and then constructed this square in shape, each side being a furlong in length. He divided up the area into thirty compartments and laying out the roofs upon the trunks of palm trees wrought the whole structure into a square shape.[1] Then he decorated all the exterior walls. Upon the foundation course were golden prows of quinqueremes in close order, two hundred and forty in all. Upon the catheads each carried two kneeling archers four cubits in height, and (on the deck) armed male figures five cubits high, while the intervening spaces were occupied by red banners fashioned out of felt. Above these, on the second level, stood torches fifteen cubits high with golden wreaths about their handles. At their flaming ends perched eagles with outspread wings looking downward, while about their bases were serpents looking up at the eagles. On the third level were carved a multitude of wild animals being pursued by hunters. The fourth level carried a centauromachy rendered in gold, while the fifth showed lions and bulls alternating, also in gold. The next higher level was covered with Macedonian and Persian arms, testifying to the prowess of the one people and to the defeats of the other. On top of all stood Sirens, hollowed out and able to conceal within them persons who sang a lament in mourning for the dead. The 324/3 B.C.

[1] The brevity of Diodorus's account leaves the meaning a little obscure. It is possible that the ground plan was divided into thirty transverse compartments, each thus about 22 feet wide and 220 yards long. Each of these could be roofed with flat timbers to support the next higher section of the pyre.

[3] ἐπληροῦτο X ; ἀποπεπλήρωτο F.

5 τὸ δ' ὕψος ἦν ὅλου τοῦ κατασκευάσματος πήχεις πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα.

Καθόλου δὲ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων φιλοτιμηθέντων εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κόσμον φασὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλωθέντων χρημάτων γεγονέναι
6 πλείω τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων ταλάντων. ἀκολούθως δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενομένων κατὰ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τιμῶν τὸ τελευταῖον προσέταξεν ἅπασι θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι θεῷ παρέδρῳ[1]· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τύχην ἧκεν εἷς τῶν φίλων Φίλιππος, χρησμὸν φέρων παρ' Ἄμμωνος θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι θεῷ. διόπερ γενόμενος περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν κεκυρωκέναι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην[2] πρῶτος τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσεν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος λαμπρῶς ὑπεδέξατο, μύρια τὸν ἀριθμὸν θύσας ἱερεῖα παντοδαπά.

116. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκφορὰν εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ πανηγυρικὸν βίον ἐκτραπέντος τοῦ βασιλέως, δοκοῦντος ἰσχύειν τότε πλεῖστον καὶ μάλιστ' εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἡ πεπρωμένη συνῄρει τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῷ συγκεχωρημένον τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐσήμαινε τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν καὶ παραδόξων οἰωνῶν καὶ σημείων συντελουμένων.

[1] The manuscripts have προέδρῳ, but cp. Lucian, *Calumniae non temere credendum*, 17. 148: ἔθυον παρέδρῳ καὶ ἀλεξικάκῳ θεῷ. Editors have corrected accordingly.
[2] ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ κυρώσαντι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην X.

[1] Justin (12. 12. 12) gives the same figure; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 72. 3) and Arrian (7. 14. 8), 10,000 talents.
[2] Lucian (*Calumniae non temere credendum*, 17) gives a fuller account of Hephaestion's deification; he received temples and precincts in the cities, his name was used in the most solemn of oaths, and he received sacrifice as a πάρεδρος καὶ ἀλεξίκακος θεός. No archaeological record of any of this remains (C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, 1956), and the ancient tradition was various. Justin (12. 12. 12) reports, like Diodorus, that Alexander ordered that Hephaestion was to be worshipped "ut deum." Plutarch (*Alexander*, 72. 2) states that Ammon recommended that he should be honoured as a hero, and so did he also according to Arrian (7. 23. 6), after first refusing to allow him divine worship (7. 14. 7). The term πάρεδρος is odd: elsewhere it seems to mean a priest (G. E. Bean, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 72 (1952), 118.

total height of the pyre was more than one hundred and thirty cubits. 324/3 B.C.

All of the generals and the soldiers and the envoys and even the natives rivalled one another in contributing to the magnificence of the funeral, so, it is said, that the total expense came to over twelve thousand talents.[1] In keeping with this magnificence and the other special marks of honour at the funeral, Alexander ended by decreeing that all should sacrifice to Hephaestion as god coadjutor.[2] As a matter of fact, it happened just at this time that Philip, one of the Friends, came bearing a response from Ammon that Hephaestion should be worshipped as a god. Alexander was delighted that the god had ratified his own opinion, was himself the first to perform the sacrifice, and entertained everybody handsomely. The sacrifice consisted of ten thousand victims of all sorts.

116. After the funeral, the king turned to amusements and festivals, but just when it seemed that he was at the peak of his power and good fortune, Fate cut off the time allowed him by nature to remain alive. Straightway heaven also began to foretell his death, and many strange portents and signs occurred.

2 Τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως ἀλειφομένου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ διαδήματος ἐπί τινος θρόνου τεθέντος τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις δεδεμένος ἐλύθη τὰς πέδας αὐτομάτως καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας διῆλθε διὰ τῶν τῆς
3 αὐλῆς θυρῶν ἀνεπικωλύτως. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε. γνωσθείσης[1] δὲ τῆς πράξεως ὁ βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς τὸ παράδοξον προσῆλθε τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ χωρὶς καταπλήξεως ἡσυχῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέκρινε τίς ὢν καὶ τί βουλόμενος τοῦτο
4 ἔπραξε. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μηδὲν ἁπλῶς γινώσκειν τοῖς μάντεσι προσαναθέμενος περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦτον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων κρίσιν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅπως τὰ σημαινόμενα δυσχερῆ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τρέπηται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ θεοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις θύσας ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καθειστήκει καὶ τῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων προρρήσεως ἐμνημόνευσε καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμπείσαντας φιλοσόφους παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα[2] κατεμέμφετο, τὴν δὲ τέχνην τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγχίνοιαν ἐθαύμαζε, καθόλου

[1] γνωρισθείσης F. [2] Βαβυλωνίαν RX.

[1] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 73. 3-4, says that the prisoner had been miraculously freed by Serapis ; Arrian, 7. 24. 1-3, that he had not been held in bonds.

[2] The significance of the royal throne in the Orient has appeared in chap. 66. 3-7 (p. 306, note 2). If the man was a native, he may have regarded it as a sanctuary, or at least as a place of refuge from the pursuing guards ; in Arrian's account, they did not venture to remove him by force " because of some Persian custom." (According to the anecdote traced back to Trogus by O. Seel (Pompeius Trogus, *Fragmenta*, 1956, 109 f.), it was " capital " for anyone to sit on the throne of the king of Persia.) Plutarch, *Alexander*, 73. 4, states that he was a Greek. It is possible that he did not put on the royal garments, but merely held them. Later references to the significance of the throne are Dio, 50. 10. 2 ; 56. 29. 1 ; Script. Hist. Aug., *Septimius Severus*, 1. 9. See Addenda.

Once when the king was being rubbed with oil and 324/3 B.C. the royal robe and diadem were lying on a chair, one of the natives who was kept in bonds was spontaneously freed from his fetters, escaped his guards' notice, and passed through the doors of the palace with no one hindering.[1] He went to the royal chair, put on the royal dress and bound his head with the diadem, then seated himself upon the chair and remained quiet.[2] As soon as the king learned of this, he was terrified at the odd event, but walked to the chair and without showing his agitation asked the man quietly who he was and what he meant by doing this. When he made no reply whatsoever,[3] Alexander referred the portent to the seers for interpretation and put the man to death in accordance with their judgement, hoping that the trouble which was forecast by his act might light upon the man's own head.[4] He picked up the clothing and sacrificed to the gods who avert evil, but continued to be seriously troubled. He recalled the prediction of the Chaldaeans and was angry with the philosophers who had persuaded him to enter Babylon. He was impressed anew with the skill of the Chaldaeans and their in-

[3] Either because he was too frightened to speak, or because he did not speak Greek. Plutarch makes him claim to have been inspired by Serapis, but this did not save him from execution.

[4] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 74. 1. Arrian (7. 24. 3) reports only that he was tortured to make him explain his actions.

δὲ τοὺς ταῖς εὑρησιλογίαις κατασοφιζομένους τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πεπρωμένης ἐβλασφήμει.

5 Μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ ἄλλο σημεῖον αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας[1] τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέστησε. βουλομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα[2] λίμνην καὶ πλέοντος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἔν τισιν ἀκάτοις ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἀποσχισθείσης τῆς νεὼς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν ἐπλανήθη μόνος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν
6 σωτηρίαν ἀπογνῶναι· ἔπειτα διά τινος αὐλῶνος στενοῦ καὶ συμπεπυκασμένου δένδρεσι διαπλέοντος καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπερκειμένων, τοῦ δὲ διαδήματος ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρθέντος καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν λίμνην πεσόντος εἷς τῶν ἐρετῶν[3] προσνηξάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῶς σῶσαι τὸ διάδημα προσέθετο τῇ κεφαλῇ
7 καὶ προσενήξατο τῷ πλοίῳ. τρεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας διαπλανηθεὶς διεσώθη καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἀνελπίστως πάλιν τοῖς μάντεσι προσανέφερε περὶ τῶν προσημαινομένων.

117. Τούτων δὲ παρακελευομένων[4] θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς παρεκλήθη πρός τινα τῶν φίλων Μήδιον τὸν Θετταλὸν ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐλθεῖν· κἀκεῖ πολὺν

[1] Possibly for τελευτῆς, as Fischer, or τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτῆς.
[2] Βαβυλωνίαν R, perhaps rightly; the great swamp was well to the south of Babylon.
[3] ὑπηρετῶν F.
[4] πάλιν παρακελευομένων X.

---

[1] Or, perhaps, "about his death"; cp. note 1 above.
[2] Arrian (7. 22) tells this story earlier than the one about the throne, and gives various accounts about the incident of

sight, and generally railed at those who used specious reasoning to argue away the power of Fate. 324/3 B.C.

A little while later heaven sent him a second portent about his kingship.[1] He had conceived the desire to see the great swamp of Babylonia and set sail with his friends in a number of skiffs.[2] For some days his boat became separated from the others and he was lost and alone, fearing that he might never get out alive. As his craft was proceeding through a narrow channel where the reeds grew thickly and overhung the water, his diadem was caught and lifted from his head by one of them and then dropped into the swamp. One of the oarsmen swam after it and, wishing to return it safely, placed it on his head and so swam back to the boat. After three days and nights of wandering, Alexander found his way to safety just as he had again put on his diadem when this seemed beyond hope. Again he turned to the soothsayers for the meaning of all this.

117. They bade him sacrifice to the gods on a grand scale and with all speed, but he was then called away by Medius, the Thessalian, one of his Friends, to take part in a comus.[3] There he drank much unmixed

the lost diadem and its recovery; it was the other boats which became lost, but Alexander sent a pilot and rescued them.

[3] Justin, 12. 13. 7. These events are described from the royal journal more circumstantially by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 75. 3, and Arrian, 7. 24. 4–25. 1. Medius belonged to a noble family of Larisa and had accompanied Alexander as a personal friend, not in a military capacity (Berve, *Alexanderreich*, 2, no. 521). Aelian (*Varia Historia*, 3. 23) gives a day-by-day account of Alexander's drinking and resting during the last three weeks of his life, crediting this to Eumenes of Cardia, the keeper of the journal, but gives the month wrongly as Dius. See Addenda.

ἄκρατον ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τελευτῆς Ἡρακλέους μέγα
2 ποτήριον πληρώσας ἐξέπιεν. ἄφνω δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπό τινος πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς πεπληγμένος ἀνεστέναξε μέγα βοήσας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπηλλάττετο χειραγωγούμενος. εὐθὺς δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐκδεξάμενοι κατέκλιναν αὐτὸν καὶ προσή-
3 δρευον ἐπιμελῶς, τοῦ δὲ πάθους ἐπιτείνοντος καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν συγκληθέντων βοηθῆσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐδυνήθη, πολλοῖς δὲ πόνοις καὶ δειναῖς ἀλγηδόσι συσχεθείς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῆν ἀπέγνω, περιελόμενος τὸν
4 δακτύλιον ἔδωκε Περδίκκᾳ. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπερωτώντων, Τίνι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπεις; εἶπεν, Τῷ κρατίστῳ, καὶ προσεφθέγξατο, ταύτην τελευταίαν φωνὴν προέμενος, ὅτι μέγαν ἀγῶνα αὐτῷ ἐπιτάφιον συστήσονται πάντες οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν φίλων.
5 οὗτος μὲν οὖν τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε βασιλεύσας ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά, πράξεις δὲ μεγίστας κατεργασάμενος οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου.

[1] Justin, 12. 13. 8-9. Arrian (7. 27. 2) gives this story of the sudden stab of pain as a variant version, and Plutarch (*Alexander*, 75. 3-4) specifically denies it. Diodorus here explains the "cup of Heracles" mentioned by Plutarch. There was an annual festival of the death of Heracles on Mt. Oeta, with which Medius, as a Thessalian, was familiar. Its date has been unknown (M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 1, 1941, p. 120), but this anecdote may indicate that it occurred in the Macedonian month of Daesius.

[2] Curtius, 10. 5. 4; Justin, 12. 15. 12. Curtius's narrative resumes at this point.

[3] So also in Arrian, 7. 26. 3. In Book 18. 1. 4, Diodorus says "To the best," agreeing with the "optimus" of Curtius, 10. 5. 5, and the "dignissimus" of Justin, 12. 15. 8.

wine in commemoration of the death of Heracles, and finally, filling a huge beaker, downed it at a gulp. Instantly he shrieked aloud as if smitten by a violent blow and was conducted by his Friends, who led him by the hand back to his apartments.[1] His chamberlains put him to bed and attended him closely, but the pain increased and the physicians were summoned. No one was able to do anything helpful and Alexander continued in great discomfort and acute suffering. When he, at length, despaired of life, he took off his ring and handed it to Perdiccas.[2] His Friends asked: "To whom do you leave the kingdom?" and he replied: "To the strongest."[3] He added, and these were his last words, that all of his leading Friends would stage a vast contest in honour of his funeral.[4] This was how he died after a reign of twelve years and seven months.[5] He accomplished greater deeds than any, not only of the kings who had lived before him but also of those who were to come later down to our time. 324/3 B.C.

It is true, of course, that κράτιστος may mean "best" as well as "most powerful."

[4] Curtius, 10. 5. 5; Arrian, 7. 26. 3.

[5] Alexander died on the 28th of Daesius (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 76. 4, so also the Babylonian records, but Aristobulus (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 75. 4) said the 30th; it was a hollow month, without any 29th, and Alexander died about sundown; this was the 10th of June), and it has been argued above that the assassination of Philip and the accession of Alexander must have taken place in the same month (p. 100, note 1). This would give Alexander thirteen years of reign, and this figure is actually given by the Oxyrhynchus Chronologer (*P. Oxy.* 1. 12. v. 31-32). Since Daesius was the eighth Macedonian month, the "seven months" of Diodorus and the "eight months" of Arrian (7. 28. 1) represent exclusive and inclusive counting from the first new year after Alexander's accession. Cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2. 59.

Ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διαπεφωνήκασιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι διὰ φαρμάκου θανασίμου γεγονέναι τὸν θάνατον, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθα δεῖν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους.

118. Φασὶ γὰρ Ἀντίπατρον ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης στρατηγὸν ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντα διενεχθῆναι πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταφρονεῖν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὰς κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ διαβολάς, ὕστερον δ᾿ αἰεὶ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐξομένης, τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς πάντα βουλομένου τῇ μητρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, πολλὰς ἐμφάσεις διδόναι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῆς Παρμενίωνος καὶ Φιλώτου σφαγῆς φρίκην ἐμποιούσης τοῖς φίλοις διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ τεταγμένου περὶ τὸν κύαθον δοῦναι πιεῖν θανάσιμον φάρμακον τῷ
2 βασιλεῖ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Κασάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν πολλοὺς συγγραφεῖς μὴ τολμᾶν γράψαι περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας. φανερὸν δὲ γεγονέναι Κάσανδρον δι᾿ αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενον τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράγμασι· τήν τε γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδα φονεύσαντα ἄταφον ῥῖψαι καὶ τὰς ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου κατασκαφείσας Θήβας ἀνοικίσαι[1] μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν Σισύγγαμβρις[2] ἡ Δαρείου μήτηρ, πολλὰ καταθρηνήσασα τήν τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐρημίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου γραμμῆς ἐγκαρτερήσασα

[1] ἀνοικίσαι Fischer; οἰκῆσαι RX; οἰκίσαι F.

Since some historians disagree about the death of Alexander, and state that this occurred in consequence of a draught of poison, it seems necessary for us to mention their account also.[1] 324/3 B.C.

118. They say that Antipater, who had been left by Alexander as viceroy in Europe, was at variance with the king's mother Olympias. At first he did not take her seriously because Alexander did not heed her complaints against him, but later, as their enmity kept growing and the king showed an anxiety to gratify his mother in everything out of piety, Antipater gave many indications of his disaffection. This was bad enough, but the murder of Parmenion and Philotas struck terror into Antipater as into all of Alexander's Friends, so by the hand of his own son, who was the king's wine-pourer, he administered poison to the king.[2] After Alexander's death, Antipater held the supreme authority in Europe and then his son Casander took over the kingdom, so that many historians did not dare write about the drug. Casander, however, is plainly disclosed by his own actions as a bitter enemy to Alexander's policies. He murdered Olympias and threw out her body without burial, and with great enthusiasm restored Thebes, which had been destroyed by Alexander.[3]

After the king's death Sisyngambris, Dareius's mother, mourned his passing and her own bereavement, and coming to the limit of her life she refrained

[1] Justin, 12. 13. 10; Arrian, 7. 27. 1. See Addenda.
[2] Justin, 12. 14; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 77. 1-3; Arrian, 7. 27. The son's name was Iollas, but Justin associated with him his brothers Philip and Casander, the later king. Curtius does not mention this tradition. [3] Book 19. 49-51; 53.

[2] Σισύγαμβρις codd.

πεμπταία κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ἐπιλύπως μέν, οὐκ ἀκλεῶς δὲ προεμένη τὸ ζῆν.

4 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν παρόντες κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου πρόθεσιν τὰς τῶν διαδεξαμένων πράξεις ἐν ταῖς ἑπομέναις βίβλοις πειρασόμεθα διεξιέναι.[1]

[1] RX add a subscription, missing in F: Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου ἱστοριῶν ιζ.

from food and died on the fifth day, abandoning life painfully but not ingloriously.[1] 324/3 B.C.

Having reached the death of Alexander as we proposed to do at the beginning of the book, we shall try to narrate the actions of the Successors in the books which follow.

[1] Curtius, 10. 5. 19-25.

ADDENDA

P. 4. The possibility should be mentioned that Diodorus used the writings of Duris of Samos, since he mentions him in Book 15. 60. 6 and cites him in Book 21. 6. C. Dolce (*Kokalos*, 6, 1960, 124-166) and E. Manni (*ib.* 167-173) argue that Diodorus drew his account of Agathocles from Duris.

Pp. 7 f. The important book of L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (1960), came into my hands too late to be used in this discussion.

P. 13. My assumption that Curtius belongs to the early Augustan period is supported by D. Korzeniewski, *Die Zeit des Quintus Curtius Rufus* (1959). Others have argued for a Flavian or Hadrianic date, and C. A. Robinson, Jr. (*American Journal of Philology*, 82, 1961, 316-319) would date Curtius to the Severan period. None of these later datings would affect my theory that both Curtius and Diodorus drew their accounts of Alexander from Trogus.

Pp. 81, 325, 427, 465. Three of the four *komoi* reported by Diodorus were celebrations of important successes, and it may be that the *komos* at which Alexander became fatally ill, also, was not an ordinary party but an event of some importance. The *komos* in Carmania was in honour of Dionysus, that in Babylon, apparently, in honour of Heracles.

ADDENDA

P. 159, n. 2. The same story of Leôs and Erechtheus is mentioned by Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 50.

P. 253. Straton may have been put to death by Alexander; the historian Anaximenes described his death as violent (Athen. xii. 531 d-e).

P. 267. I have argued in an article to appear in *Historia* that the foundation date of Alexandria given by Pseudo-Callisthenes, i. 32: 25 Tybi = 8 April 331, may be accepted as correct, and that it supports the report of Aristobulus that the city was founded, formally at least, after the visit to the Oasis of Siwah.

Pp. 306, n. 2, and 462, n. 2. To the discussions of the significance of the throne should be added that of P. Wolff-Windegg, *Die Gekrönten; Sinn und Sinnbilder des Königtums* (1958), 159-166.

P. 407, n. 1. Dioxippus appears as a citizen of Athens involved in a law suit in Hypereides's speech *On Behalf of Lycophron*. Diodorus mentions (Book 16. 44. 3) another instance of a soldier garbed as Heracles in the case of the Argive general Nicostratus.

P. 427, n. 4. Carystius of Pergamum was probably referring to this event when he described Alexander as κωμάζων ἐπὶ ὄνων ἅρματος (Athen. x. 434 f).

P. 457. The ultimate source of this description may have been Ephippus's treatise *On the Funeral* (or *Death*) *of Alexander and Hephaestion* (Jacoby, no. 126).

P. 469, n. 2. According to Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* (*Moralia*, 849 F), Hypereides proposed that the Athenians should honour Iolas (Iollas) for having poisoned Alexander.

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, *Edinburgh*

(422)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

LATIN AUTHORS

Ammianus Marcellinus. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
Apuleius: The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee.
St. Augustine: City of God. 7 Vols. Vol. I. G. E. McCracken. Vol. VI. W. C. Greene.
St. Augustine, Confessions of. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols.
St. Augustine: Select Letters. J. H. Baxter.
Ausonius. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.
Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.
Boethius: Tracts and De Consolatione Philosophiae. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand.
Caesar: Alexandrian, African and Spanish Wars. A. G. Way.
Caesar: Civil Wars. A. G. Peskett.
Caesar: Gallic War. H. J. Edwards.
Cato and Varro: De Re Rustica. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper.
Catullus. F. W. Cornish; Tibullus. J. B. Postgate; and Pervigilium Veneris. J. W. Mackail.
Celsus: De Medicina. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols.
Cicero: Brutus and Orator. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell.
Cicero: De Finibus. H. Rackham.
Cicero: De Inventione, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
Cicero: De Natura Deorum and Academica. H. Rackham.

Cicero: De Officiis. Walter Miller.
Cicero: De Oratore, etc. 2 Vols. Vol. I: De Oratore, Books I and II. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. Vol. II: De Oratore, Book III; De Fato; Paradoxa Stoicorum; De Partitione Oratoria. H. Rackham.
Cicero: De Republica, De Legibus, Somnium Scipionis. Clinton W. Keyes.
Cicero: De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione. W. A. Falconer.
Cicero: In Catilinam, Pro Murena, Pro Sulla, Pro Flacco. Louis E. Lord.
Cicero: Letters to Atticus. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.
Cicero: Letters to his Friends. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols.
Cicero: Philippics. W. C. A. Ker.
Cicero: Pro Archia, Post Reditum, De Domo, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Plancio. N. H. Watts.
Cicero: Pro Caecina, Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio. H. Grose Hodge.
Cicero: Pro Caelio, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Balbo. R. Gardner.
Cicero: Pro Milone, In Pisonem, Pro Scauro, Pro Fonteio, Pro Rabirio Postumo, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro. N. H. Watts.
Cicero: Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, Contra Rullum. J. H. Freese.
Cicero: Pro Sestio, In Vatinium. R. Gardner.
[Cicero]: Rhetorica ad Herennium. H. Caplan.
Cicero: Tusculan Disputations. J. E. King.
Cicero: Verrine Orations. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols.
Claudian. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.
Columella: De Re Rustica; De Arboribus. H. B. Ash, E. S. Forster, E. Heffner. 3 Vols.
Curtius, Q.: History of Alexander. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
Florus. E. S. Forster: and Cornelius Nepos. J. C. Rolfe.
Frontinus: Stratagems and Aqueducts. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.
Fronto: Correspondence. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.
Gellius. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
Horace: Odes and Epodes. C. E. Bennett.
Horace: Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica. H. R. Fairclough.
Jerome: Select Letters. F. A. Wright.
Juvenal and Persius. G. G. Ramsay.

LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, A. C. Schlesinger and R. M. Geer (General Index). 14 Vols.
LUCAN. J. D. Duff.
LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse.
MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols.
MINOR LATIN POETS: from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS, including GRATTIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, with "Aetna," "Phoenix" and other poems. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff.
OVID: THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley.
OVID: FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.
OVID: HEROIDES AND AMORES. Grant Showerman.
OVID: METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.
OVID: TRISTIA AND EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler.
PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine: SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse.
PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols.
PLINY: LETTERS. Melmoth's translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols.
PLINY: NATURAL HISTORY. 10 Vols. Vols. I-V and IX. H. Rackham. Vols. VI-VIII. W. H. S. Jones. Vol. X. D. E. Eichholz.
PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler.
PRUDENTIUS. H. J. Thomson. 2 Vols.
QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols.
REMAINS OF OLD LATIN. E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I (Ennius and Caecilius). Vol. II (Livius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Accius). Vol. III (Lucilius, Laws of the XII Tables). Vol. IV (Archaic Inscriptions).
SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe.
SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols.
SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. *Cf.* PETRONIUS.
SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols.
SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols.
SENECA: TRAGEDIES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.
SIDONIUS: POEMS AND LETTERS. W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols.
SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols.
STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.
SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
TACITUS: DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson: and AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton.
TACITUS: HISTORIES AND ANNALS. C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols.

Terence. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols.
Tertullian: Apologia and De Spectaculis. T. R. Glover; Minucius Felix. G. H. Rendall.
Valerius Flaccus. J. H. Mozley.
Varro: De Lingua Latina. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.
Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti. F. W. Shipley.
Virgil. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols.
Vitruvius: De Architectura. F. Granger. 2 Vols.

GREEK AUTHORS

Achilles Tatius. S. Gaselee.
Aelian: On the Nature of Animals. A. F. Scholfield. 3 Vols.
Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus and Onasander. The Illinois Greek Club.
Aeschines. C. D. Adams.
Aeschylus. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols.
Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus: Letters. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes.
Apollodorus. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols.
Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton.
The Apostolic Fathers. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols.
Appian's Roman History. Horace White. 4 Vols.
Aratus. *Cf.* Callimachus.
Aristophanes. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans.
Aristotle: Art of Rhetoric. J. H. Freese.
Aristotle: Athenian Constitution, Eudemian Ethics, Virtues and Vices. H. Rackham.
Aristotle: Generation of Animals. A. L. Peck.
Aristotle: Metaphysics. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols.
Aristotle: Meteorologica. H. D. P. Lee.
Aristotle: Minor Works. W. S. Hett. "On Colours," "On Things Heard," "Physiognomics," "On Plants," "On Marvellous Things Heard," "Mechanical Problems," "On Indivisible Lines," "Situations and Names of Winds," "On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias."
Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics. H. Rackham.

Aristotle: Oeconomica and Magna Moralia. G. C. Armstrong. (With Metaphysics, Vol. II.)
Aristotle: On the Heavens. W. K. C. Guthrie.
Aristotle: On the Soul, Parva Naturalia, On Breath. W. S. Hett.
Aristotle: The Categories. On Interpretation. H. P. Cooke; Prior Analytics. H. Tredennick.
Aristotle: Posterior Analytics. H. Tredennick; Topics. E. S. Forster.
Aristotle: Sophistical Refutations. Coming-to-be and Passing-away. E. S. Forster. On the Cosmos. D. J. Furley.
Aristotle: Parts of Animals. A. L. Peck; Motion and Progression of Animals. E. S. Forster.
Aristotle: Physics. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols.
Aristotle: Poetics; Longinus on the Sublime. W. Hamilton Fyfe; Demetrius on Style. W. Rhys Roberts.
Aristotle: Politics. H. Rackham.
Aristotle: Problems. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.
Aristotle: Rhetorica ad Alexandrum. H. Rackham. (With Problems, Vol. II.)
Arrian: History of Alexander and Indica. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols.
Athenaeus: Deipnosophistae. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols.
St. Basil: Letters. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.
Callimachus: Fragments. C. A. Trypanis.
Callimachus: Hymns and Epigrams, and Lycophron. A. W. Mair; Aratus. G. R. Mair.
Clement of Alexandria. Rev. G. W. Butterworth.
Colluthus. *Cf.* Oppian.
Daphnis and Chloe. *Cf.* Longus.
Demosthenes I: Olynthiacs, Philippics and Minor Orations: I-XVII and XX. J. H. Vince.
Demosthenes II: De Corona and De Falsa Legatione. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince.
Demosthenes III: Meidias, Androtion, Aristocrates, Timocrates, Aristogeiton. J. H. Vince.
Demosthenes IV-VI: Private Orations and In Neaeram. A. T. Murray.
Demosthenes VII: Funeral Speech, Erotic Essay, Exordia and Letters. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.
Dio Cassius: Roman History. E. Cary. 9 Vols.

Dio Chrysostom. 5 Vols. Vols. I and II. J. W. Cohoon. Vol III. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. Vols. IV and V. H. Lamar Crosby.
Diodorus Siculus. 12 Vols. Vols. I-VI. C. H. Oldfather. Vol. VII. C. L. Sherman. Vol. VIII. C. B. Welles. Vols. IX and X. Russel M. Geer. Vol. XI. F. R. Walton.
Diogenes Laertius. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols.
Epictetus. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols.
Euripides. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. Verse trans.
Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols.
Galen: On the Natural Faculties. A. J. Brock.
The Greek Anthology. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.
The Greek Bucolic Poets (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus). J. M. Edmonds.
Greek Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.
Greek Mathematical Works. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
Herodes. *Cf.* Theophrastus: Characters.
Herodotus. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols.
Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns. H. G. Evelyn White.
Hippocrates and the Fragments of Heracleitus. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols.
Homer: Iliad. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols.
Homer: Odyssey. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols.
Isaeus. E. S. Forster.
Isocrates. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.
St. John Damascene: Barlaam and Ioasaph. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly.
Josephus. 9 Vols. Vols. I-IV. H. St. J. Thackeray. Vol. V. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. Vols. VI and VII. Ralph Marcus. Vol. VIII. Ralph Marcus and Allen Wikgren.
Julian. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols.
Longus: Daphnis and Chloe. Thornley's translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and Parthenius. S. Gaselee.
Lucian. 8 Vols. Vols. I-V. A. M. Harmon; Vol. VI. K. Kilburn; Vol. VII. M. D. Macleod.
Lycophron. *Cf.* Callimachus.
Lyra Graeca. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols.
Lysias. W. R. M. Lamb.

Manetho. W. G. Waddell. Ptolemy: Tetrabiblos. F. E. Robbins.
Marcus Aurelius. C. R. Haines.
Menander. F. G. Allinson.
Minor Attic Orators. 2 Vols. K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burtt.
Nonnos: Dionysiaca. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols.
Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus. A. W. Mair.
Papyri. Non-Literary Selections. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. Literary Selections (Poetry). D. L. Page.
Parthenius. *Cf.* Longus.
Pausanias: Description of Greece. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. arranged by R. E. Wycherley.
Philo. 10 Vols. Vols. I-V. F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker; Vols. VI-X. F. H. Colson; General Index. Rev. J. W. Earp.
Two Supplementary Vols. Translation only from an Armenian Text. Ralph Marcus.
Philostratus: Imagines: Callistratus: Descriptions. A. Fairbanks.
Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols.
Philostratus and Eunapius; Lives of the Sophists. Wilmer Cave Wright.
Pindar. Sir J. E. Sandys.
Plato: Charmides, Alcibiades, Hipparchus, The Lovers, Theages, Minos and Epinomis. W. R. M. Lamb.
Plato: Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias. H. N. Fowler.
Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus. H. N. Fowler.
Plato: Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus. W. R. M. Lamb.
Plato: Laws. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols.
Plato: Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias. W. R. M. Lamb.
Plato: Republic. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols.
Plato: Statesman. Philebus. H. N. Fowler: Ion. W. R. M. Lamb.
Plato: Theaetetus and Sophist. H. N. Fowler.
Plato: Timaeus, Critias, Clitopho, Menexenus, Epistulae. Rev. R. G. Bury.
Plutarch: Moralia. 15 Vols. Vols. I-V. F. C. Babbitt;

Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold; Vol. VII. P. H. De Lacy and B. Einarson; Vol. IX. E. L. Minar, Jr., F. H. Sandbach, W. C. Helmbold; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler; Vol. XII. H. Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold.

PLUTARCH: THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols.
POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
PROCOPIUS: HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols.
PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. *Cf.* MANETHO.
QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans.
SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols.
SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. Verse trans.
STRABO: GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols.
THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox.
THEOPHRASTUS: ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort. 2 Vols.
THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols.
TRYPHIODORUS. *Cf.* OPPIAN.
XENOPHON: CYROPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols.
XENOPHON: HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, AND SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols.
XENOPHON: MEMORABILIA AND OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant.
XENOPHON: SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant.

VOLUMES IN PREPARATION

ARISTOTLE: HISTORIA ANIMALIUM (Greek). A. L. Peck.
BABRIUS (Greek) AND PHAEDRUS (Latin). B. E. Perry.
PLOTINUS (Greek). A. H. Armstrong.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. HARVARD UNIV. PRESS | LONDON WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD